



17-8-42

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LARGE EXAMINATION TAKEN

at *Lambeth*, according to his
Maiesties direction, point by point,
of *M. George Blakwell*, made Arch-
priest of England, by Pope Clement 8.

Vpon occasion of a certaine answere of his,
without the priuitie of the State, to a
*Letter lately sent vnto him from Cardinall
Bellarmine, blaming him for taking
the oath of Allegiance.*



Together with the Cardinals Letter, and
M. Blakwels said answere vnto it.

Also *M. Blakwels* Letter to the Romish
Catholickes in England, as well Ec-
clesiasticall, as Lay.

Imprinted at London by *Robert
Barker*, Printer to the Kings most
Excellent Maiestie.

1607.

~~UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE~~




Academia Cantabrigiensis
Liber

362:98

A COPY OF THE
ACT, OF M. BLAK-
well his verifying, and ac-
knowledging of this his Exa-
mination, &c.

Before his Maiesties Commissioners for
causes Ecclesiasticall at *Lambeth*
the first of *February 1607.*
juxta, &c.

 His day Sir *Thomas Crompton* knight, his Maiesties Aduocate did in the presence of M. *George Blakwell*, exhibite into the Court foure seuerall writings. The first was the originall letter it selfe (as M. *Blakwell* confessed) sent vnto him from *Cardinall Bellarmine*, dated at *Rome* the xxviij. day of *September 1607.* It was endorsed in this sort:
Admodum Reuerendo Domino, D. Georgio Blacuello Archipresbytero An-
(a 2) *glia:*

ENTAIL COPIE A
glie : and subscribed thus, *Reueren-*
dæ admodum D. V. frater & Seruus
in Christo, Robertus Cardinalis Bel-
larminus : beginning with these
wordes, *Venerabilis in Christo Do-*
mine frater. Anni sunt ferè quadragin-
ta, quòd inuicem non viderimus, &c:
and ending with these words: *Va-*
le, viriliter age, & confortetur cor tu-
um. The second was an answer of
M. Blakwels to the said letter of the
Cardinall, written all of it with his
owne hand, and is the true copy
(he saith) of that which he did send
to the *Cardinall*, the marginal quo-
tations onely excepted, which (he
confesseth) he hath since added.
This letter beareth date the xiiij. of
November 1607. and beginning
thus: *Doleo plurimum quòd Illustrissi-*
ma & Amplitudo vestra de me propter
Catbo-

OF THE ACT.

Catholicam fidem incarcerato, &c.
doeth thus end, *Nisi quod beatus*
Petrus aut soluerit aut ligauerit.

These two Letters did giue occasion of the other two writings exhibited: the first whereof was, an Examination of *M. Blakwel* taken at seuerall times by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterburie*, as touching the particular points of his answer to the *Cardinall*, and other necessary consequents thereupon depending: It contained 114. pages, which were euery one of them subscribed vnto by *M. Blakwell* (as he confessed) with his owne hand: it began in this maner, *He saith, that because he perceiueth, that diuers exceptions are taken against his late Letter, &c:* and ended with these words; *and therein he had his*
desire.

A C O P I E

desire. The fourth paper exhibited was a true copy (as M. *Blakwell* acknowledged) of a letter of his, directed to all the Catholickes in England, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Lay, dated from the *Clinke* the xx. of *Ianuary* 1607. It was thus endorsed, *To my reuerend Assistants with the rest of my deare brethren both of the Clergie and Laitie:* and thus subscribed, *Georgius Blakwellus Archipresbyter Angliæ, & Protonotarius Apostolicus.* The beginning of it was as followeth: *Very reuerend and my dearest beloved brethren both Priests and people Catholicke: your seruant in bandes George Blakwell, &c:* and this was the end of it, *And confirme you in euery good worke and word.*

And touching the contents both of his said Examination and letter
exhi-

OF THE ACT.

exhibited into the Court (as is a-
foresaid,) the same being shewed
vnto him page by page, subscribed
with his owne hand (as is aboue
mentioned) he did auow them to
be true: and that whatsoeuer is ei-
ther in his said Letter, or in his an-
sweres, throughout the course of
his whole Examination, to the
questions & matters propounded
vnto him, is agreeable to his con-
science, so farre forth as by his rea-
ding and learning hee is able to
iudge. And this he protested be-
fore God, he had done simply and
faithfully, without any reseruati-
ons or euasions, by any shifting or
equiuocation either verball, or
mentall; answering in euery thing
according (as he thought) to the
intent and meaning of his Exami-
ner,

THE COPY OF THE ACT.

ner, as if he had bene sworne; agreeably to the rule of S. Bernard in the like case: *Quacunque arte verborum quis iuret, Deus qui conscientiae testis est, accipit, sicut ille cui hoc iuratur, intelligit*: and to that of S. Hierome, *Tantus in te sit veri amor, ut quicquid dixeris, iuratum putes.*

And all the premisses hee acknowledged openly in Court, and subscribed vnto them, the day and yeere aboue written.

*Georgius Blakwellus Archipresbyter,
& Protonotarius Apostolicus.*

Before vs,

R. Cant.

Tho. London.

L. Cicestr.

James Mountagu.

Edw. Stanhop.

J. Bennet.

R. Swale.

Rich. Neile.

John King.

William Far-

rand.

A D.



CARDINAL BEL-

larmines Letter to the

Arch-priest.

¶ *Admodum Reuerendo Domino*

Georgio Blacuello Archipresbytero Anglorum. Robertus S. R. E. Cardinalis Bel-
larminus. S. D.



Enerabilis in Christo Domine frater. Anni sunt ferè quadraginta, quòd inuicem non viderimus: sed ego tamen Veteris nostræ consuetudinis nunquam oblitus sum, teque in Vineâ

Domini strenuè laborantem, quando aliter non potui, orationibus Deo commendare non destiti; me quoque in tuâ memoriâ toto hoc tempore vixisse, & in tuis orationibus ad Altare Domini locum aliquem habuisse non dubito. Ita igitur ad hoc usque tempus non verbis, aut literis, sed opere & veritate, ut Sanctus Ioannes loquitur, alter in alterius dilectione permansimus. Sed hoc silentium rumpere coegit nuncius, qui diebus istis de tuis vinculis, & carcere ad nos venit. Qui quidem nuncius, etsi tristis videri poterat

(b)

terat

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terat ob iacturam pastoralis tue sollicitudinis, quam Ecclesia ista fecit: tamen letus quoque videbatur, quoniam ad Martyrij gloriam, quo dono Dei nullum est felicior, propinquabas, ut qui tot annis gregem tuum verbo, & doctrinâ pasceres, nunc exemplo patientiæ gloriosius pasceres. Verum hanc letitiam non mediocriter interturba-
uit, ac ferè corruptit tristis alius nuncius, qui de cō-
stantiâ tuâ in recusando illicito iuramento ab ad-
uersarijs tentatâ, fortè etiam labefactâ, & pro-
stratâ successit. Neque enim, frater charissime, iuramentum illud ideo licitum esse potuit, quòd aliquo modo temperatum, & modificatum offere-
batur. Scis enim eiusmodi modificationes nihil esse aliud, quàm Satane dolos, & versutias, ut fides Catholica de primatu sedis Apostolica vel aperte, vel occultè petatur, pro quâ fide tot inchyti Martyres in istâ ipsâ Angliâ ad sanguinem us-
que pugnârunt. Certè enim quibuscumque verbis iuramentum ab aduersarijs fidei concipiatur in Regno isto, eò tendit, ut auctoritas capitis Eccle-
siae à Successore Sancti Petri ad successorem Henrici octavi in Angliâ transferatur. Quod enim obtenditur de periculo vitæ Regis, si sum-
mus Pontifex eam in Angliâ potestatem habeat, quam in alijs omnibus Christianis Regnis habet,
inane

G. Blakwellum Archipr.

inane prorsus esse, omnes qui sunt aliquâ pruden-
tiâ præditi facile vident. Neque enim auditum
est unquam ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ, vsque ad
hæc nostra tempora, quod ullus Pontifex Maxi-
mus Principem ullum, quamuis hæreticum,
quamuis ethnicum, quamuis persecutorem cædi
mandauerit, aut eadem fortè ab aliquo patrata
probauerit. Et cur quæso vnus Rex Angliæ
timet, quod ex tot Christianis Principibus nullus
timet, nullus timuit? Sed, vt dixi, vani isti præ-
textus decipule sunt, & stratagemata Satana.
Qualia non pauca in Historijs veterum tempo-
rum inueniuntur, quæ facile referre possem, si
non epistolam, sed librum integrum scribendum
suscepissem: vnum tantum, exempli gratiâ, ad
memoriam tibi reuocabo. Scribit Sanctus Gre-
gorius Nazianzenus in primâ oratione in Iulia-
num Imperatorem, illum, vt simplicibus Christi-
anis imponeret, in imaginibus Imperatorijs, quas
Romani ciuili quodam genere honoris pro more
adorabant, imagines deorum falsorum adniscu-
isse, vt nemo posset Imperatoris imaginem ado-
rare, quin simul deorum simulachris cultum ad-
hiberet. Hinc nimirum fiebat, vt plurimi deci-
perentur, & si qui fortè fraudem subodorati, Im-
peratoris imaginem venerari recusarent, ij gra-
uissimè

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uisimè punirentur, vt qui *Cæsarem* in suâ imagi-
ne contempsissent. Tale aliquid in Iuramento vo-
bis oblato mihi videre videor, quod eâ fraude
compositum est, vt nemo possit proditionem in
Regem detestari, ciuilemquë subiectionem profiteri,
quin primatum Sedis Apostolicæ per fidem abnegare
cogatur. Sed Christi serui, ac præsertim primarij
Domini Sacerdotes, vbi periculum Fidei subesse
possit, tantum abesse debent à susceptione illiciti
iuramenti, vt ab omni etiam suspicione simulati-
onis præstiti iuramenti cauere debeant, ne fide-
bus populis vllum præuaricationis exemplum re-
liquisse videantur. Quod egregiè præstitit in-
signis ille Eleazarus, qui neque porcinas car-
nes comedere, neque simulare comedisse voluit,
quamuis grauissima tormenta sibi cerneret im-
minere, ne, vt ipse ait in secundo libro Macca-
beorum, multi iuuenum per eam simulationem ad
legis præuaricationem animarentur. Neque mi-
nus fortiter magnus Basilius, & exemplo ad res
nostras magis accommodato, cum Valente Im-
peratore se gessit. Nam, vt in historiâ scribit
Theodoretus, cum Præfectus Imperatoris hære-
tici hortaretur Sanctum Basilium, vt non vel-
let, propter paruam dogmatum subtilitatem, Impe-
ratori resistere; respondit vir ille sanctissimus &
pru-

G. Blakwellum Archipr.

prudentissimus, non esse ferendum, ut de Diuinis dogmatibus, vel vna syllaba corrumpatur, sed potius pro eorum defensione omne genus supplicij amplectendum. Equidem arbitror non deesse apud vos, qui dogmatum subtilitatem esse dicant, quæ in Iuramento Catholicis hominibus proposito continentur, & non esse propter rem tam paruum Regis Imperio reluctandum. Sed non deerunt etiam viri sancti, ac magno Basilio similes, qui palam affirmabunt, non esse de Diuinis dogmatibus, vel minimam aliquam syllabam corrumpendam, etiamsi tormenta & mors ipsa toleranda proponatur. Inter hos unum, vel potius horum Principem atque antesignanum te esse par est. Et quamuis vel inopinata comprehensio, vel acerbitas persecutionis, vel senectutis imbecillitas, vel quid aliud in causâ fuerit, ut constantia titubauerit; confidimus tamen de Domini pietate, & de diuturnâ tuâ virtute, fore, ut qui Sancti Petri & Sancti Marcellini casum aliquâ ex parte imitatus videris, eorundem fortitudinem in reparandis viribus & veritate asserendâ fœliciter imiteris. Nam si rem totam diligenter apud te cogitare volueris, videbis profecto non esse rem paruum, quæ ob Iuramentum istud in discrimen adducitur, sed unum ex præ-

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capuis fidei nostræ capitibus, ac religionis Catholicæ fundamentis. Audi enim quid Apostolus vester magnus Gregorius in Epistolâ quadragesimâ secundâ libri undecimi scribat; Apostolicæ Sedis reuerentia nullius præsumptione turbetur: tunc enim membrorum status integer perseuerat, si caput fidei nullâ pulsetur iniuriâ. Itaq; S. Gregorio teste, cùm de primatu sedis Apostolicæ vel turbando, vel minuendo, vel tollendo satagitur, de ipso capite fidei amputando, ac de totius corporis, omniumq; membrorum statu dissipando satagitur. Quod ipsum Sanctus Leo confirmat in sermone tertio de assumptione suâ ad Pontificatum, cùm ait; Specialis cura Petri à Domino suscipitur, & pro fide Petri propriè supplicatur, tanquam aliorum status certior sit futurus, si mens Principis victa non fuerit. Ex quo idem ipse in Epistolâ ad Episcopos Vienneſis prouinciæ affirmare non dubitat, necesse esse, exortem illum mysterij esse Diuini, qui ausus fuerit à Petri soliditate recedere. Qui rursum ait; Quisquis huic Sedi principatum existimat denegandum, illius quidem nullo modo potest minuere dignitatem, sed inflatus spiritu superbiæ suæ semetipsum in inferna demergit. Atque hæc quidem & alia eiusdem

G. Blakwellum Archipr.

dem generis multa tibi notissima esse certò scio, qui præter cæteros libros, Visibile Monarchiam Sanderi tui, scriptoris diligentissimi, & de Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ optimè meriti, sæpe legisti: quique ignorare non potes, sanctissimos viros, eosdemque doctissimos, Ioannem Rossensem, & Thomam Morum pro hoc vno gravissimo dogmate duces ad Martyrium plurimis alijs, cum ingenti Anglicæ nationis gloriâ, nostrâ memoriâ fuisse. Sed ad memoriam tibi revocare volui, ut colligas te, & magnitudinem rei considerans, non tuo iudicio nimium fidas, neque plus sapias quàm oportet sapere; & si fortè lapsus tuus non ex inconsideratione, sed ex infirmitate humanâ, ex metu carceris, & suppliciorum profectus est: non anteponas libertatem temporalem libertati gloriæ filiorum Dei, neque ob momentaneam, & leuem tribulationem fugiendam, amittere velis æternam gloriæ pondus, quod ipsa tribulatio operatur in te. Bonum certamen diu certâsti, cursum fermè consummâsti, fidem tot annis servâsti, noli igitur tantorum laborum præmia tam facile perdere, noli coronâ iustitiæ, quæ tibi iamdudum paratur, te ipse privare, noli tot fratrum & filiorum tuorum vultus confundere. In te sunt hoc tempore coniecti oculi totius Ecclesiæ, quin etiam
specta-

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spectaculum factus es mundo, Angelis & hominibus: noli in extremo actu ita te gerere, ut & tuis luctum, & gaudium hostibus relinquo. Sed contra potius, quod omnino speramus, & pro quo ad Deum nostrum assidue preces fundimus, vexillum fidei gloriose erigas, & quam contristaueras, letam facias Ecclesiam, nec iam solum veniam merearis a Domino, sed coronam. Vale, viriliter age, & confortetur cor tuum. Romae die 28. Septembris. 1607.

Reuerendae admodum D. V. frater & seruus in Christo, Robertus Cardinalis Bellarminus.

The

The same in English.

¶ To the very Reuerend, M. George
Blakwell Arch-priest of the English : Ro-
bert of the holy Church of Rome, Cardinall
Bellarmine, sendeth greeting.

R Euerend Sir, and Brother in Christ,
It is almost fortie yeeres since we did
see one the other : But yet I haue ne-
uer beene vnmindfull of our ancient
acquaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could
doe you no other good, to commend you, labou-
ring most painefully in the Lords vineyard, in my
prayers to God : and I doubt not, but that I
haue liued all this while in your memorie, and
haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords
Altar. So therefore euen vnto this time we haue
abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall loue
one of the other, not in worde or letter, but in
deede, and trueth. But a late message which was
brought vnto vs within a few dayes, of your
bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee to
breake off this silence ; which message, although
it seemed heauie in regard of the losse of your pa-
storall function which you haue exercised in that
Church, yet withall it seemed ioyous, because
you drew neere vnto the glory of *Martyrdome*,
then the which thing there is no gift of God more
happy ; that you, who haue fed your Flocke so
many yeeres with the word and doctrine, should
now feede it more gloriously, by the example of
your patience. But another heauy tidings did

(c)

not

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not a litle disquiet and almost take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault, and peraduenture of the slip and fall of your Constancie in refusing an vnlawfull Oath. Neither truely (most deare brother) could that oath therefore be lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kind of modifications are nothing els, but sleights and subtilties of Satan, that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the See Apostolike, might either secretly or openly bee shot at, for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs euen in that very *England* it selfe, haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine it is, that in whatsoeuer words the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in *England*, may bee transferred from the successour of *S. Peter*, to the Successour of *K. Henry* the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the supreme Bishop should haue the same power in *England*, which he hath in all other Christian Kingdomes: it is altogether idle, as all that haue any vnderstanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancie vntill this day, that euer any *Pope* did commaund, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a Persecuter, should be murdered, or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doth onely the King of *England* feare that, which none of all the other Princes

to the Arch-priest.

Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or
euer did feare?

But, as I said, these vaine pretexts are but the
Trappes and Stratagemes of Sathan: of which
kinde, I could produce not a few out of ancient
Stories, if I went about to write a booke, and not
an Epistle. One onely for example sake, I will
call to your memory. S. *Gregorie Nazianzene*
in his first Oration against *Julian* the Emperour,
reporteth, that hee, the more easily to beguile
the simple Christians, did insert the Images of
the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour,
which the Romanes did vse to bow downe vn-
to with a ciuill kind of reuerence; so that no man
could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture,
but withall he must adore the Images of the false
gods. Whereupon it came to passe, that many
were deceiued: and if there were any that found
out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship
his picture, those were most grievously punished,
as men that had contemned the Emperour in his
Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see
in the Oath that is offered to you, which is so
craftily composed, that no man can detest Treas-
on against the King, and make profession of his
Ciuil subiection, but he must be constrained, per-
fidiously to denie the Primacy of the Apostolicke
See. But the seruants of Christ, and especially
the chiefe Priests of the Lord ought to be so farre
from taking an vnlawfull Oath, where they may
indamage their Faith, that they ought to beware
that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimu-

Car. Bellarmines letter

lation that they haue taken it. Which thing that Worthy *Eleazar* did most notably performe, who would neither eate Swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee saw the great torments that did hang ouer his head, lest, as himselfe speaketh in the second booke of the *Maccabees*, many yong men might be brought through that Simulation, to preuaricate with the Law. Neither did *Basill* the great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, carrie himselfe lesse worthily towards *Valens* the Emperour. For, as *Theodore* writeth in his History, when the Deputie of that hereticall Emperour did perswade Saint *Basill*, that he should not resist the Emperour for a little Subtiltie of a few points of Doctrine; that most holy and prudent man made answer, *That it was not to be endured, that the least syllable of Gods word should be corrupted, but rather all kinde of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trueth thereof.* Now I suppose, that there want not amongst you, who say that they are but Subtilties of Opinions, that are contained in the Oath that is offered to the Catholicks, and that you are not to striue against the Kings Authoritie for such a litle matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men, like vnto *Basill* the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods Diuine Trueth is not to bee corrupted, though many Torments were to be endured, and death it selfe set before you. Amongst whom it is meet, that you should be one, or rather the Standerd-bearer, and General

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to the Arch-priest.

rall to the rest. And whatsoever hath bene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it be the suddennes of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecillitie of your old age: yet we trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of *Peter* and *Marcellinus*, so you shall happily imitate their valour in recouering your strength, and maintaining the truth. For if you wil diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, truly you shall see it is no small matter that is called in question by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith, and foundations of Catholicke Religion. For heare what your Apostle *S. Gregorie* the Great hath written, in his 42. Epistle of his 11. booke. *Let not the Reuerence due to the Apostolique See, bee troubled by any mans presumption: for then the state of the members doeth remaine entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any iniurie.* Therefore, by *S. Gregories* testimonie, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolicke See, then are they busie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing *S. Leo* doeth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the Pope-dome, when he saith, *Our Lord had a speciall care of Peter, and praied properly for Peters faith, as though the state of others were more stable, when their Princes*

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minde was not to bee overcome. Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Vienna*, doeth not doubt to affirme, that he is not partaker of the *diuine Myserie*, that dare depart from the soliditie of Peter. Who also saith, that hee who thinketh the *Primacie* is to be denied to that See, he can in no sort lessen the *Authoritie* of it, but by being puffed up with the spirit of pride, doeth cast himselfe headlong into hell. These and many other of this kind, I am very sure are most familiar to you: who besides many other bookes, haue diligently read ouer the *Visible Monarchie* of your owne *Saunders*, a most diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deserved of the Church of England. Neither can you be ignorant, that those most holy & learned men, *John B. of Rochester*, and *Thomas More* within our memorie, for this one most weightie head of doctrine, led the way to *Martyrdome* to many others, to the exceeding glory of the *English Nation*. But I would put you in remembrance, that you should take heart, and considering the weightinesse of the cause, not to trust too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wise aboue that is meete to bee wise. And if peraduenture your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of consideration, but through humane infirmitie, and for feare of punishment, and imprisonment; yet do not preferre a temporall libertie before the libertie of the glory of the *Sonnes of God*, neither for escaping a light and momentarie tribulation, loose an eternall weight of glory, which tribulation it selfe doeth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a
long

to the Arch-priest.

long time, you haue wel-neere finished your course. So many yeeres you haue kept the faith: doe not therefore loose the reward of such labours: do not depriue your selfe of that Crowne of righteousness which so long agoe is prepared for you. Doe not make the faces of so many your both brethren and children ashamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men: Doe not so carie your selfe in this your last Act, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies, but rather the contrarie: which we assuredly hope, and for which wee continually powre forth prayers to God. Display gloriously the banner of Faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heaue. So shall you not onely merit pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell, quite you like a man, and let your heart bee strengthened. *From Rome the 28. day of September, 1607.*

*Your very Reuerend Masterships brother,
and servant in Christ, Robert Cardi-
nall Bellarmine.*

Endorsed,

To the very Reuerend Master *George
Blakwell*, Arch-priest of England.

M. BLAK.



M. BLAKWELS
answere to Card. Bellar-
mines Letter.

¶ *Reuerendissime in Christo Pater,
& Illustrissime Cardinalis Bellarmine.*



*Oleo plurimum, quòd Illu-
strissima Amplitudo vestra
de me propter Catholicam
fidem incarcerato, tam du-
ram conceperit, & mihi
terribile opinionem. Ha-
Etenus per Dei gratiam
ne in minimo quidem articulo fluctuasse me me-
mini, qui certò & definite ad sublimem maiesta-
tem, & summam authoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ
pertineret. Quod ad iuramentum spectat, fateor
me illud suscepisse, sed in eo sensu, qui in Catholi-
corum scriptis probatus apparet, & nullâ labe te-
meritatis aspersus. Sensus enim meus ter repe-
titus, & acceptus à Magistratu, & iam etiam
publicè typis propagatus, hic est: Summum Pon-
tificem non habere imperialem, & ciuilem po-
testatem ad libitum, & ex suo appetitu, depo-
nendi nostrum Regem. Talem potestatem Ca-
tholici*

tholici Theologi nunquam tribuerunt Sanctissimo
 Diui Petri successori, ut Illustrissimus bonæ me-
 moriæ Cardinalis Alanus, & alij non contem-
 niendi scriptores in monumentis suis ad posterita-
 tis memoriam notauerunt. Neq; est cur quisquam
 vel minimam suspicionem habeat, illum sensum
 admissum esse à Magistratu, deformandæ causâ,
 aut imminuendæ, aut spoliandæ dignitatis Apo-
 stolici. Certè tales ex suspicionem nati conceptus
 sunt plerunq; fallacissimi magistri, & faciunt ti-
 morem, vbi nullus est timor.

Sed ut pergam, quam institui, tenere viam:
 Illud etiam ad defensionem meam accedit, quod
 positum est ab Illustrissimo Cardinale Caietano,
 in responsione suâ ad Parisienses; quod vtrum-
 que verè determinari possit de Papâ; & quod
 habet supremam potestatem in temporalibus,
 & quod non habet supremam potestatem in
 temporalibus: quoniam vtrumq; verum est ad
 sanum intellectum. Affirmatio namq; est ve-
 ra, in ordine ad spiritualia: negatio verò est vera
 directè, leu secundum seipsa temporalia. Vnde
 nihil ex vtraq; decisione erroris accidit. Hec
 ille. Illam etiam sententiam in libros suos præ-
 stantissimi Catholici scriptores coniecerunt: Vi-
 delicet, ad summum Pontificem, cum finitæ &
 limitatæ sit capacitatis, & multoties ipsum la-

Card. Alanus
 in Respons. ad
 Institutam An-
 glicanam.
 Sixtus Senens.
 in Bibliothecâ
 Sanctâ.
 S. R. cont. 7 ho.
 Bell.
 R. P. contra
 Morton, p. 69.

Caietan. tom. 1.
 tract. 1. Apo-
 logie. part. 2.
 cap. 13.

Alphons. Man-
 doza in rele-
 ctione de regno
 & dominio
 Christi, num.

15.

(d)

teat

Petrus de Ar-
ragon. quest.
67. art. 1.

Joan. Pedrez-
Lanus in resp.
ad Venet.

teat ordo, & proportio rerum temporalium in finem spiritualem, ideo ad ipsum nequaquam spectare, omnibus modis rerum dominari, sed solum iuxta taxatum, & præfinitum Canonem, quo secundum humanum intelligentia modum ipse Papa dispicere valet, quâ viâ temporalia spiritualibus deseruiant. *Atque eandem sententiam lego ab alio scriptore valde Catholico hisce verbis expressam*: In temporalibus Pontificis potestatem esse limitatam, & de illis posse disponere vsque ad certam quandam mensuram, videlicet, quatenus finis spiritualis exigat.

Cum ergo ad hunc modum arcta & astricta sit Pontificis autoritas in temporalibus, cur nos in tam grauem reprehensionem incurreremus, qui dicimus summum Pontificem non habere potestatem deponendi nostrum Regem, quia inde perturbatio Ecclesie, & euersio Catholicorum nostrorum in bonis & possessionibus, & detrimenta plurimarum animarum prouenirent? Audiat Amplitudo Vestra non me, sed defensorem assertionis vestrae contra Venetos, qui sic ait: Potestas summi Pontificis limitata est, ne de rebus temporalibus disponere possit ultra exigentiam finis supernaturalis. His adiungi potest etiam Excellentissimæ Amplitudinis vestrae senten-

Joan. Pedrez-
Lanus.

sententia: Quantum ad personas, non potest Papa, vt Papa, ordinariè temporales Principes deponere, etiam iustâ de causâ, eo modo quo deponit Episcopos, id est, tanquam ordinarius iudex, tamen potest mutare régna, & vni auferre, & alteri conferre, tanquam *summus princeps spiritualis*, si id necessarium sit ad animarum salutem. *Quæ verba planè firmant nostram admissionem Iuramenti.* Nam verba iuramenti sunt: Papam non habere authoritatem deponendi Regē, aut disponendi de regnis & dominijs Maiestatis suæ: *Et communis intellectus apud Magistratum ad nullum alium conceptum propendet, quàm ad hunc, videlicet, Papam vt Papa est.* Nam non potest pertingere ad illum conceptum, videlicet, tanquam Summum principem spiritualem. *Et cum proponitur iuramentum suscipiendum, illius sensus, cognitus à Magistratu, restringitur ad ordinariam potestatem.* Nam qui proponunt iuramentum, illi remotissimi sunt à cogitatione extraordinariæ aut indirecte potestatis in Papâ residentis.

Neq; etiam si Amplitudinis vestræ mitissima dispositio vel minimâ ex parte conciperet ruinas familiarum Catholicarum, quas inferret recusatio iuramenti, certè non dissentiret à nobis, qui ex luctuosissimis spectaculis videmus, inde profe-

Eturam esse, non modò iacturam animarum, sed etiam totius status Catholici apud nos lamentabilem extirpationem. Cum ergo persentiscimus auctoritatem summi Pontificis, quoad depositionem nostri Regis, non esse in ordine ad spiritualia promouenda, sed euertenda; cur exagitaremur, tanquam desertores fidei, & negatores Apostolici Primatus, qui nihil aliud tenemus, quàm quod vbiq. Theologi in suas conclusiones compegerunt?

*Suarez disput.
16 de Excom.
maior. Sect. 1.*

*Salmeron tom.
4. pag. 416.*

*Idem ibidem.
pag. 410.*

*Nauar. relect.
cap. Nouit. de
iudic. notab. 3.
pag. 106.*

*Conarru. tom.
2. pag. 506.
num. 7.*

Suarez ait, In vniuersum omnia hæc temporalia cadunt, tantùm *indirectè*, sub potestatem spirituales, id est, in ordine ad finem spirituales. Salmeron dicit, Petri potestas est solum ad ædificationem, quod alijs verbis solet dici: Clauē non errante. *Et loquens de Papæ potestate, ait: Si sit in destructionem, non est potestas aut potentia, sed impotentia & defectus. Hoc possumus, quod iure possumus. Martinus Aspiluera loquens de Ecclesiasticâ potestate, inquit; Ergo tantum se ad temporalia extendet, quantum ratio supernaturalium exigit, & non ultra. Idis societur Conarruius: Constat huius quæstionis resolutio, vt (saluâ semper Ecclesiæ Catholicæ definitione) constituamus Romanum Pontificem, nec actu, nec habitu vniuersi orbis, nec in ipsos quidem Christianos temporalem Iurisdictionem.*

ditionem habere, nisi quatenus ea necessaria
sit ad spiritualis iurisdictionis, & potestatis v-
tiliorem, & faciliorem vsum.

*Possum longius innavigare in hoc doctorum
torrente, liberrimè profluenti ad defensionem no-
stram de Iuramento. Qui enim æquo oculo pericula
nostra intueretur, facile aduerteret, potestatem
summi Pontificis in depositione nostri Regis, iam
contineri non posse intra fines ordinis ad spiritua-
lia subleuanda; sed excurrere ad supprimenda
omnia, quæ hætenus in spiritualibus bene posita
fuerunt. Hinc patet in quam lamentabilem con-
ditionem detrudunt me ille paulò grauiores, &
acerbiores animaduersiones: Quod ex Sathanæ
dolis consentirem, vt fides Catholica de pri-
matu Sedis Apostolicæ vel apertè vel obscure
petatur: Quod Iuramentum in Regno isto
eò tendit, vt authoritas capitis Ecclesiæ à suc-
cessore Sancti Petri ad successorem Henrici 8.
in Angliâ transferatur: Quod hîc periculum
fidei subesse possit: Quod videor Sancti Petri
& S. Marcellini casum aliquâ ex parte imita-
tus: Quod non sit res parua, quæ ob iura-
mentum istud in discrimen adducitur, sed v-
num ex præcipuis fidei nostræ capitibus, & re-
ligionis Catholicæ fundamentis: & quod de-
beam audire, quid Sanctus Gregorius magnus*

affirmat, & quid Sanctus *Leo* confirmat, & attendere quid *Sanderus* pronuntiauit; & quod pro hoc vno grauissimo dogmate *Ioan. Rosensis* & *Tho. Morus* duces ad Martyrium alijs extiterunt: & quod non plus sapiam, quam oportet sapere: & quod tortè lapsus fuerim non ex inconsideratione, sed ex infirmitate humanâ &c.

Hæc legi attentè, & meam vicem dolui, quod tantus aceruus notationum censoriarum apud vos construitur aduersum me, què nec capio, nec sapio, quo modo vel exigua aliqua pars detrimenti possit importari Primatui summi Pontificis ex sensu, quem ego (approbante Magistratu) præposueram Iuramento. Sed si verba exterius non tam gratum sonum fundere videantur; non debet tamen sensus vel intellectus verbis seruire, sed verba intellectui; ut patet ex libro 5. Decretalium Gregorij, de verborum significatione.

*Couar. part. 2.
pag. 504.
Nouit. de iudi.
notab.
Binsfeld. in
tract. de iniuriis
& damno
dato. cap. 7.
pag. 353.*

Neg. suspicari possum quâ ratione aliquod periculum fidei, ex Iuramenti susceptione, creari possit; cum nihil omnino implicatum habeat, quòd aliquam speciem vel formam rei, quæ sit fidei formaliter, adumbraret. Nam ut Couarruias, Martinus ab Aspilcueta, & Binsfeldius affirmant, nihil certi de Pontificis autoritate circa temporalia hætenus ab Ecclesiâ definitum est.

est. Et Illustrissima memoria Cardinalis Alan Alan in resp. ad iustit. Ang. fol. 326. b.
nus in hac causâ ait. Quæstio est planè Theo-
logica, & cum Religione Christianâ arctissi-
mè cohærens; de quâ etsi forsan non definite,
pro parte nostrâ pronuntiâtum sit, posse tamen
& solere Theologicis argumentis in vtramque
partem disputari, ipsi quidè aduersarij si quic-
quam sciunt, ignorare non possunt. Sic ille.
Ceterùm fortè ad nos premendos Innocentius
tertius, & Bonifacius octauus concurrent. Illi au-
tem (ut ait Bannes) loquuntur de potestate, & Bannes in præamb. de dominio Christi. pag. 92. de iure & iustitiâ.
dominio, in ordine ad spiritualia, cùm opus fuerit
illam exercere; ut patet manifestè intuenti ipsa
Iura. Atque hæc est indirecta potestas, quæ Re-
gem nostrum non attingit; quia res Anglicanæ
iam in eo statu posite & defixe sunt, ut omnis
ordo ad spiritualia promouenda, per depositionem
nostri Regis, interciderit, ac proinde providen-
dum, ne duriores nobis conditionem statuatis. Et
sanè non obstante Bonifacij definitione (ut li-
quidò constat per consequentem Clementis de- Clemens de priuileg. cap. Moruit.
clarationem) nihil dignitatis aut antiqui sui Iuris
amisit Rex Francorum. Quod facere non potuit
Clemens, si definitio Bonifacij, ex Cathedrâ tan-
quam res fidei formaliter emanâisset.

Atque hac in re valdè notatum fuit à me, quod
Caietanus contra Parisienses deposuerat, viz: Caietan. tom. 1. tract. 1. Apol. parti. 2. cap. 13.
quia

quia aliud est determinare de fide *formaliter*,
& aliud de eo quod est fidei *materialiter*.
Nam primum importat determinare, quid
credendum, vel non credendum est; secundum
autem, determinare de quæstionibus, quæ in
rebus creditis accidunt: & constat cum deter-
minatur quæstio aliqua secundo modo, non
determinari dicitur de fide, sed de tali, vel tali
materiâ. Ideo cum dicitur, quod Papa non
potest errare in iudicio fidei, non accipio di-
ctum esse, nisi de iudicio fidei *formaliter*, quan-
do scilicet determinatur quid credendum, vel
non credendum. *Hæc ille: ex quibus ego, sub-*
ijciens me exquisitissimo iudicio vestro colligo:
Si definiretur tanquam res fidei formaliter, sci-
licet Papa habet potestatem deponendi Re-
ges, indirectè, hoc est, in ordine ad spiritua-
lia; quod certè ex ea definitione in thesi, om-
nes tenerentur firmiter illud credere. Sed si
quæstio proponeretur in hypothesis: An Papa
habeat potestatem deponendi nostrum Re-
gem, rebus in eo statu, quo nunc sunt, per-
manentibus apud nos: sanè videtur mihi (sal-
uo acutiore iudicio) quod huius quæstionis deter-
minatio esset de eo, quod est fidei materialiter,
quia esset determinatio de quæstione, quæ in rebus
creditis accidit, & proinde non diceretur deter-
minatio

minatio de fide, sed de tali materiâ. Determinatio autem de re fidei formaliter, nos ad credendum obstrictos tenet. Iam ego proiectus ad syn- ceritatem æquissimi Iudicij vestri, peto summo pe- re ab Amplitudine vestrâ, ut decernat utrum aliquâ in re, quæ sit fidei formaliter, ego vacilla- uerim, aut à cursu, in quo signata sunt doctissimo- rum Theologorum iudicia, deflexerim.

Quo modo ergo pertractus sum aliquâ ex parte in consortionem lapsus D. Petri, ac D. Marcelli- ni, aut quâ de causâ mentio fieret Sanderi, cui- ius sententiam secutus sum, in libro de Clau-
David, ubi ait: Gladius Ecclesiæ in ædifica-
tionem datus est, non in destructionem: ad
vitam conferendam; non ad inferendam
mortem: ad defensionem gregis; non ad læ-
sionem pecoris: ad arcendum lupum; non
ad deuorandum agnum. Et si liceat mihi pro-
gredi, in defensione meâ: ego planè non video,
ex quâ ratione illa verba recitata aut ex Grego-
rio Nazianzeno, aut ex Basilio Magno, aut ex
Leone, & Gregorio Magnis, aut quomodo etiam
laudabile factum Eleazari, aut nobilitata multorū
scriptis martyria Tho. Mori, & Ioannis Ros-
senfis in me intorqueri possint; cum in iuramento
meo, nullum vel minimū signum extet, quod ad-
iunctam aliquam deformitatem præferat contra
(e) fidem,

Sander. de
Clau David.
cap. 9.

fidem, aut quod aliquam syllabam imminuat in aliquâ re fidei: aut quod aliquid detrimenti adferat prohibitioni Diuinæ: vel quod de rebus definitis circa primatum summi Pontificis aliquantulum derogaret. Sanè procul abest à nobis, ut depasci veterem possessionem Apostolicæ Sedis ab aliquo acuto homine aliquando sineremus. Peto igitur humillimè ab Amplitudine Vestrâ, ut hæc tam grauiâ contra me, prætexta ex filis parum æquioris coloris, discindantur, & conuersa in fumum, euanescant. Senex sum, & in carcerem coniectus, propter fidem Catholicam: & non noui me hætenus in ulla alia curricula deuenisse, quàm in illa, in quibus impressa sunt doctissimorum Catholicorum manifestissima vestigia. Conticescant igitur, obsecro, omnes illæ circumsonantes vociferationes aduersum me innocentem, & Apostolicæ Cathedræ studiosissimum propugnatorem. Cuius rei iam sit testis incarceration mea: testes sint creberrimæ conciones meæ: testes sint in antegresso decursu triginta duorum annorum periclitationes meæ, pro dignitate Sedis Apostolicæ: testis sit administratio Archipresbyteratus, quotidianis septa periculis vitæ meæ.

Sed quò progredior? Certe paulò effusior videri possim in repetitione harum rerum coram Amplitudine Vestrâ, quæ (ut spero) iam rigidi-

orem

orem vestram opinionem de me, & de meo facto,
ad maiorem æquitatis, & commiserationis tem-
perationem reuocabit. Sed finem faciam, & ex-
tremum habebit illa Sancti Leonis sententia:
Manet Petri priuilegium, vbicunq; ex ipsius
fertur æquitate iudicium: nec nimia est vel se-
ueritas, vel remissio, vbi nihil erit ligatum, ni-
hil solutum, nisi quod beatus Petrus aut soluerit,
aut ligauerit.

S. Leo. serm. 3.
in anniuersario
Assumptionis
sue, legitur in
lect. 9 in festo
cathedra S. Pe-
tri Antiochia.

Dominus Iesus Amplitudinem vestram conseruet ad
maiorem dilatationem Catholicæ fidei, & no-
stram consolationem.

Londini e Carcere 13. Nouemb. 1607.

Vestrae Amplitudinis

humillimus seruus.

Georgius Blakwellus,

The same in English.

¶ Most reuerend father in Christ,
and most Illustrious Cardinal Bellarmine.



Am much grieued,
that your Illustrious Am-
plitude hath conceiued of
me; being imprisoned for
the Catholicke faith; so
hard, and vnto me so ter-
rible an opinion. Hitherto, through Gods
(e 2) grace,

grace, I haue not wauered (that I remember)
 in the least point, which certainly and defi-
 nitely may appertaine to the sublime Maie-
 stie, and supreme authoritie of the See Apo-
 stolicke. As touching the Oath, I confesse I
 haue taken it, but in that sense, which is
 found approoued in the writings of Catho-
 licke, and is no way tainted with any spot of
 temeritie. For the sense I relyed on, being
 thrise repeated, and by the Magistrate accep-
 ted, and since also published in print, is this:
 that the supreme Bishop hath not an *Impe-
 riall* and *Ciull* power to depose *our* King, at
 his owne pleasure and *appetite*. Such a power
 the Catholicke diuines did neuer ascribe vn-
 to the most holy Successour of *S. Peter*, as the
 most Illustrious of worthy memorie *Cardinall*
Alane, and other commendable authors haue
 to the memorie of posteritie recorded in their
 writings. Neither is there cause why any man
 should haue so much as the least suspicion,
 that the sense aforesaid was admitted by the
 Magistrate, to the intent to deface, or impaire,
 or despoile the dignitie Apostolicke. Surely
 such apprehensions bred out of iealousie, are
 for the most part deceitful Masters, and beget
 feare, where there is no feare.

Card. Alanus
in respon. ad
Iustitiam An-
glicanam.
Sixtus Senens.
in bibliotheca
Sancta.
S. R. cont. Tho.
Bell.
R. P. cont.
Morton, pag.
69.

But

But to pursue my intended course: that
 also which is deliuered by the most Illustrious
 Cardinall Caietane in his answere to the Pari- Caietan. tom 1.
tract. 1. Apo-
logia parte 2.
cap. 13.
 siens, doeth concurre vnto my defence: that
 either of these points may truely be determined
 concerning the Pope; both that he hath a supreme
 power in matters temporall, and that he hath not
 a supreme power in matters temporall; because
 they are both of them true in a right understand-
 ding. The affirmatiue is true, in order to
 things spirituall; the negatiue is true directly,
 or as things temporall are considered in them-
 selues. So as there can no error growe by ei-
 ther of the two decisions. Thus saith he. And
 this opinion likewise the best Catholicke writ-
 ters haue inserted into their bookes: viz. that
 the Pope, forasmuch as hee is but of a finite and Alphonf. Men-
doza in rele-
ctione de Reg-
no & Dominio
Christi. num.
15.
Petrus de Ar-
ragon quest.
67. art. 1.
 bounded capacitie, and is many times ignorant of
 the order and proportion of temporall things, how
 they may make vnto a spirituall end, is not there-
 fore in an absolute manner to haue dominion ouer
 temporals, but only after a limited and prescribed
 rule, as he is able, according to the measure of hu-
 mane intelligence, to discerne how temporals may
 be auailable to things spirituall. The same opi-
 nion doe I finde deliuered by another sound
 Catholicke author, in these words: That the

Ioan. Pedrez-
Zanus in re-
spons. ad Vene-
tos.

Popes power in Temporals is limited: and that he may not dispose of them, but to a certaine proportion, that is, so farre as is necessarie for a spirituall end.

Seeing therefore the Popes power in temporals is in this sort tied and retrained; why should we incurre so heauie a reproofe, for affirming that the Pope hath not power to depose our King: in as much as the perturbation of the Church, and the overthrow of the Catholickes with vs, in their goods and possessions, and the indamaging of many soules, were thereby like to ensue? Let your Amplitude heare, not mee, but the defender of your owne assertion, against the *Venetians*, whose words are these: *The power of the highest Bishop is limited, that it may not dispose of temporals beyond the necessity of a supernaturall end.* To these also may be adioyned your most excellent Amplitudes own opinion: *In regard of the persons, the Pope cannot, as he is Pope, by his ordinarie power, (though there be iust cause) depose temporall princes, in that manner as hee deposeth Bishops, that is, as their ordinarie Iudge: but he may, as the supreme spirituall prince, alter kingdomes, take them from one and giue them to another, if neede so require, for the*
sauing

Ioan. Pedrez-
Zanus in Re-
spons. ad Vene-
tos.

Lib. 5. de Rom.
Pontif. cap. 6.

sauiing of soules. Which wordes doe plainly
strengthen our admittance of the Oath. For
the words of the oath are, that *the Pope hath
not authoritie to depose the King, or to dispose
any of his Maiesties kingdomes, or dominions.*
And the common vnderstanding doeth with
the Magistrate encline to no other conceit,
then to this: The Pope, *as he is Pope*: for it
cannot reach vnto that construction; as he is
the *chiefe spirituall prince*. And when the oath
is propounded to be taken, the sense thereof,
apprehended by the Magistrate, is restrained
to an *ordinary* power. For they who exhibite
the oath, are as farre as may be from any
thought of an *extraordinary* or *indirect* pow-
er, residing in the Pope.

Besides, if your Amplitudes most mild dis-
position could but in the least part conceiue
the ruines of Catholicke families, which the
refusall of this othe would bring vpon vs; assu-
redly you would not dissent from vs, who by
most wofull examples doe finde, that from
thence were like to proceede, not onely the
losse and hazard of soules, but the lamenta-
ble extirpation of the whole Catholicke state
amongst vs. Sith therefore wee doe sensibly
finde, that the authoritie of the supreme Bi-
shop,

shop, touching the deposition of our King, cannot tend to the promoting of Spirituall matters, but to the ouerthrow of them: why should wee be thus shaken vp, as hauing reuolted from the Faith, and denied the Primacie Apostolicke, who mainteine nothing, but what is generally concluded on amongst Diuines?

Suarez. disput.
16. de Excom-
muni. maior.
sect. 1.
Salmeron tom.
4. 416.

Idem ibidem.
pag. 420.

Navar. Relect.
cap. Nouit. de
Iudic. notab. 3.
pag. 106.

Couar. tom. 2.
pag. 506.
num. 7.

Suarez saith: *In summe, all these temporals doe fall but indirectly vnder the power spirituall, that is, in order vnto a spirituall end.* And Salmeron: *Peters power is giuen onely to edification, which in other words is vsually said: The key not erring.* And speaking of the Popes power, he saith: *If it tend to destruction, it is not a bilitie or power, but impotencie and defect: wee can doe that which we can iustly doe.* Martinus Aspilcueta treating of Ecclesiasticall power, hath these words: *It shall therefore extend it selfe so farre vnto things temporall, as the order of things supernaturall doth require, and no further.* With these let Couarruuias bee ranged: *The resolution of this question is plaine, that wee conclude, (the definition of the Catholicke Church euer reserued) that the Bishop of Rome hath not either actually, or habitually, a temporall iurisdiction, ouer the whole world, no not ouer Christi-*
ans

ans themselves, further then may be necessary for
the more commodious, and easie use of the spiri-
tuall iurisdiction and power.

I might longer stote in this currant of lear-
ned men, which doth plenteously flow out to
my defence, concerning the Oath. For who
so shall with an indifferent eye beholde the
dangers we are in, would easily find, that the
power of the supreme Bishop, in the deposi-
tion of our King, cannot (as the case stan-
deth) fall within the compasse of any order,
to releiue things spirituall, but breaketh forth
to the suppressing of all which hath beene hi-
therto well settled in the same. Whence it
may appeare into how miserable a condition
those ouer-heauie & sharpe animaduersions
doe cast me: that through the subtilties of Sa-
than I did consent, that the Primacie of the See
Apostolicke should bee either openly or couertly
shot at: that the oath doth in this Realme tend to
that end, that the authoritie of the head of the
Church, might be transferred in England from
the Successour of S. Peter, onto the Successour
of Henry 8: that the faith may hereby be endan-
gered: that I seeme to haue in some part resem-
bled the fal of S. Peter & S. Marcelline: that it
is not a small matter which by this oath is brought

(f)

in

in danger, but one of the principall heades of our faith, & foundations of Catholicke religion: that I am to beare what S. Gregorie the great doth affirme, and what S. Leo doth confirme: and to attend what Sanders hath deliuered: and that for this one most weighty point of doctrine, Iohn Bishop of Rochelter, and Sir Tho. Moore were leaders vnto others to Martyrdome: that I bee not wiser, then I ought to bee: and that my slip did peradventure proceede, not from any want of consideration, but from humane frailtie.

These things haue I read with attention; bewailing my case, that such a heape of censorious animaduersions is by you compacted against mee, who cannot comprehend or conceiue, how any the least detriment may redound vnto the Primacie of the supreme Bishop, by that sense which I, with the acceptance of the Magistrate, did propose before the taking of mine Oath. But if the words seeme not outwardly to yeeld so pleasing a sound; yet ought not the sense or vnderstanding to serue the wordes, but the words the vnderstanding, as is apparant out of the fifth booke of *Gregories Decretals*, de *uerborum significatione*.

Neither can I imagine, how by receiuing that

that Oath, there can grow any daunger vnto the faith: the same implying nothing, which may shadow out so much as a resemblance, or shew of any thing, which is formally a point of faith. For, as *Couarruuias*, *Martinus ab Aspilcueta*, & *Binsfeldius* do affirme, there is no certaintie as yet defined by the Church, touching the Popes authoritie in things temporall. And *Cardinall Allen* of famous memorie saith in this cause: *It is a meere matter of diuinitie, and of very neere coherence with Christian religion, which although it bee not peraduenture definitely resolved for our side: yet that it may and useth to be by Theologicall arguments disputed on both parts, our aduersaries, if they know any thing, cannot be ignorant.* Thus saith hee. But perhaps *Innocentius 3.* and *Bonifacius 8.* will bee brought to presse vs with: but they (as *Bannes* saith) speake of power and dominion in order to things spirituall, when it shall bee needfull to vse the same; as may euidently appeare vnto him that will peruse the lawes themselues: and this is an indirect power, which doth not reach vnto our King: for the affaires of *England* are now placed and setled in that state, as that all order for the promoting of our spirituall affaires by the de-

*Couar. parte 2.
pag 504.*

*Nguar. vt ibi-
dem notatur*

*a Couar. & v.
patet in cap.*

*Novit. de iud.
notab.*

*Binsfeld. de in-
iuria & damna*

*dato. cap. 7.
pag. 353.*

*Alan. in re-
spons. ad Iust.*

*Angl. fol. 326.
b.*

*Bannes in pre-
amb. de Do-
minio Christi. I
pag. 92. de iure
& iusticia.*

Clemens de pri-
uileg. cap.
Mcrut.

position of *our* King, is quite extinguished : and therefore there would bee care had, lest you procure vnto vs a harder condition, then yet we are in. And to say truth, notwithstanding *Boniface* his definition, the King of *France* (as is euident by the insuing declaration of *Clement*) did not lose any part of his dignitie, or auncient right : which *Clement* might not haue done, if *Boniface* his definition had proceeded from the chaire, as a matter of faith *formally*.

Caietan. tom 1.
tract. 1. Apo-
log. parte 2.
cap. 13.

And in this behalfe I did heedfully obserue, that which *Caietane* deliuered against the *Parisiens* viz: That *it was one thing to determine de fide, formaliter, and another to determine de eo quod est fidei, materialiter*. For the former doth import, the determining of what is to be beleued, or not to be beleued: but the latter, the deciding of questions which happen in things beleued: and it is cleare, that when any question is determined, after the second manner, it is not said to be a determination touching faith, but concerning such or such a matter. When therefore it is said, that the Pope cannot erre in a iudgement of faith; I doe not take it to bee spoken, but of a iudgement of faith *formally*, that is, when he determineth, what is to be beleued, or not to be beleued.

beleueed. Thus saith he.

Out of which words I (submitting my selfe vnto your most exquisite iudgement) doe collect, that if it were defined, as a point of faith *formally*, that the Pope hath power to depose kings *indirectly*, that is, in order to things spirituall; vndoubtedly all men were by such a definition *in thesi*, in the generall position, bound firmly to beleue it. But if the question were propounded *in hypotesi*, that is, in the particular supposition, whether the Pope hath power to depose *our* king, matters continuing with vs in the state they now are in; surely me thinketh (sauing the iudgement of sharper wits) that the determination of this question were of a matter which is of faith *materially*, it being the decision of a doubt, which happeneth in things beleueed, and werenot therefore to be called a determination concerning faith, but touching such or such a matter: but it is a decision touching a point of faith *formally*, which bindeth vs to beleue it. Now therefore I, being humbly prostrate at the sincerity of your most vpright iudgement, doe earnestly beseech your Amplitude, to iudge whether I haue staggered in any matter, which is a point of faith *formally*,

or haue swarued from that course, wherein the iudgements of the most learned Diuines are traced.

*Sanders de
claue David,
cap. 9.*

By what colour then am I drawen into the societie of S. Peters, and S. Marcellines fal? or why should Sanders be mentioned vnto me, sith I haue followed his iudgement in his booke, *de Claue David*, where hee saith, *The sword of the Church was giuen to edification, and not to destruction: to bestowe life, not to bring death: to defend the flocke, not to annoy the sheepe: to repell the wolfe, not to deuoure the lambe?* And if I may proceede in my defence: I see not by what reason, those words recited either out of *Gregory Nazianzene*, or *Basil the great*, or *Leo* and *Gregory the great*, or that laudable fact of *Eleazarus*, or the martyrdomes of Sir *Tho. More*, and *Iohn Bishop of Rochester* made famous by many mens writings, can bee wrested against me: seeing in my oath there is not the least signe, which may carie with it any inconuenience against the faith, or impaire any syllable in any point of faith, or any whit impeach the diuine prohibition, or may neuer so little derogate from any matter which is defined, concerning the Primacie of the highest Bishop. Surely it is
farre

farre from me to suffer the ancient possessions
of the See Apostolike, to bee at any time en-
croched vpon by the wit or subtiltie of any
man.

I doe therefore very humbly intreate your
Amplitude, that these so grieuous imputati-
ons against me, wrought with threedes of an
vnfuting colour, may be cut asunder, and va-
nish into smoke. I am aged, and in durance
for the Catholike faith: and doe not knowe,
that I haue hitherto trode in any other paths,
then in those, wherein are imprinted the plai-
nest foot-steps of the most learned Catho-
lickes. Bury therefore in silence (I beseech
you) all those loude clamors, sounding euery
where against me, that am innocent, and an
earnest vpholder of the chaire Apostolicke.
Witnesse thereof my present imprisonment:
witnes my often preachings: witnes the perils
I haue vndergone, for the dignity of the See
Apostolicke, in my fore-past course of 32.
yeres: witnes the administration of my Arch-
priesthood, enuironed with the daily hazards
of my life.

But whither doe I goe? doubtlesse I may
seeme somewhat too lauish in ripping vp
these matters before your Amplitude, who.
(as.

(as I trust) will now reduce your severer
censure of me and of my fact, to a better tem-
per of equitie and commiseration. But I will
conclude, and for the close will vse that say-
ing of Leo: *The priuiledge of Peter standeth
firme, where sentence is giuen, according vnto
his equitie. Neither is there too much severity, or
remissenes, where nothing is bound or loosed, but
what S. Peter hath either loosed or bound.*

Our Lord Iesus preserue your Amplitude,
to the greater enlargement of the Ca-
tholicke faith, and to our comfort.

From London out of prison 13.

Nouemb. 1607.

Your Amplitudes most
humble seruant,

George Blakwell.

THE



THE EXAMINATION OF M^r

George Blakwell,

Taken at severall times, according to his Maiesties direction, vpon occasion of his answer to Card.

BELLARMIN.

Hee saith,

That because he perceiveth, that diuers exceptions are taken against his late letter written to *Cardinall Bellarmine*; he is willing to set downe his indgement more fully, concerning the duetie which all Subiects doe owe to their Soueraigne Lords, vnder whom they were borne; and consequently all Catholickes Englishmen, vnto his Maiestie KING JAMES.

2 First hee saith, vpon certaine demands propounded vnto him, That he acknowledgeth all the precepts in the New Testament, as touch-

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ing obedience to Emperours, Kings, and Ciuill Magistrates, to be *perpetuall*, and may not be changed or qualified by any authoritie whatsoever, either Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill: and that what Subject soeuer, aswell Ecclesiasticall, as Lay doeth violate any of them, vpon any occasion, or at any time, or by vertue of any dispensation, or on any intent, to profit thereby the Catholike cause and aduance Religion, or for any other cause whatsoever, he doeth therein sinne mortally: neuer being vnlawfull to do euil, that good might come of it.

3 That hee vtterly condemneth all those who shall presume to affirme, that either Christ or his Apostles did temporize in the said precepts as meaning that Subjects were no longer bound to obey the Emperour, Kings, and souereign Princes, being wicked, Apostates, or heretiques: then vntill they were able by force of Armes to suppress them: that impious conceit in those dayes being farre in his iudgement from the godly Bishops and Christians then liuing.

4 That whereas in the Apostles times, and so afterwards for the space of about 300. yeeres the Emperours were not only Pagans themselues (except it were one of them) and refused to embrace the Gospel, but likewise endeauoured by all the meanes they could, of crueltie, and most bloodie persecution, to suppress the propagation of it; forasmuch as the godly Bishops, Fathers, and Christians in those dayes, hauing lear-

ned their duties of obedience from Christ and his Apostles, neither taught nor put in practise any course of disobedience, nor bare armes against them, though (as *Tertullian* saith) they had sufficient force so to haue done: he this Examine doeth greatly approoue such their dutifull obedience; affirming, that in his iudgement they had sinned mortally, if they had done otherwise.

Tertull in Apolog. cap. 37.

5 That euen in the case of *Julian* (who, hauing first embraced the Gospel, became afterwards an *Apostata*) the godly Bishops, Fathers, and Christians in those times, although some writ bitterly against him, yet they did not excite his Subiects to beare armes against him, nor did themselues enter into any rebellion: either of which courses, if they had attempted, this Examine thinketh (as before) that they had greatly offended God, and broken the precepts of Christ and his Apostles: adding, that therein he ioyned with S. *Augustine*, where he speaketh of the duty which Christians performed to *Julian*, though he were an *Apostata*: *Julianus extitit infidelis Imperator. Nonne extitit Apostata, iniquus, Idololatra? Milites Christiani seruiebant Imperatori infideli. Vbi veniebat ad causam Christi, non agnoscebant nisi illum, qui in caelo erat. Quando volebat, ut Idola colerent, ut iherificarent; praeponiebant illi Deum: quando autem dicebat, Producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant. Distinguebant Dominum aeternum à domino temporali: & tamen subditi erant, propter Dominum aeternum, etiam domino temporali.*

Augustine in Psal. 124.

A 2

That

That is, *Julian was an unbelieuing Emperour. Was hee not an Apostata, an oppressour, and an Idolater? Christian Souldiers serued an unbelieuing Emperour: when it came to the cause of CHRIST, they did acknowledge none but him, that was in Heauen. When he would haue them to worship Images, and to sacrifice, they preferred God before him: but when he said, Bring forth an Army, goe against such a Nation, they forthwith obeyed. They distinguished the eternall Lord from the temporall, and yet were subiect vnto the temporall lord, for the Eternall.*

6 This Examinee hauing thus declared his iudgement in the premises; it was demanded of him, whether he had seene the Popes last *Breue*, dated at *Rome, 10. Calend. Septemb. 1607.* beginning, *Renunciatum est &c.* and what, vpon the sight therof, his iudgement now was, as touching the lawfulnessse of the oath of Allegiance before by him taken. Whereupon he sayeth, that hee hath onely seene a Copie of the said last *Breue*: that he hath very carefully perused, and weighed euery sentence and clause in it, and that neuerthelessse he remaineth stedfastly in his former opinion and iudgement, viz. That it is lawful for all Catholickes in England to take the said oath of Allegiance, published the last Session but one of this present *Parliament*, and that he constantly is fetled, as touching euery part and member of the said oath, formerly by him taken, that they are true: and that this he doth acknowledge, without any equiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret

of M. George Blaknell.

5

cret reservation whatsoever, to all intents and purposes, as if he should here againe haue repeated the said oath at large.

7 This Examine being here required, forasmuch as in his iustification of the said oath, and of his taking of it, since his sight of the last *Breve*, he doth relie vpon his former opinion and iudgement; which notwithstanding in the Letter Written to *Cardinall Bellarmine*, he doeth strangely qualifie (contrary to the expectation had of him heere for his plaine dealing and sinceritie:) that therefore he should deliuer the grounds and reasons of his said iudgement, why he first aduised the Romish Catholicks to take that oath, with an assurance giuen by vertue of his authoritie, that it was lawfull for them so to doe: for answere hereunto he saith, that the effect of the reasons sent by him to *Rome* (as he said in his Examination now published in Print, and a brieve abstract whereof he deliuered to certaine of the Lords of his Maiesties most honourable priue Counsell) was grounded vpon the points following.

8 It is well knowen (saith he) to all that be learned, and will be graunted without any contradiction, that the Pope may not proceede with Princes, otherwise then is behoouefull for the Church. Forasmuch then as he may be oftentimes ignorant (as *Alphonfus Mendoza* saith) whether the order and proportion of temporall things do indeede tend directly and truely *in finem spiritua-* lem, to a spirituall end, and for the good of the

*Alphonf. Men-
doza.*

6 *A large Examination*

*Conarruv. tom.
1. pag. 184.*

*Rodericus E-
piscopus Za-
mora in spe-
culo humane
vite, lib. 2.
cap. 3.*

*Summa Syl-
uest. in verbo
obedientia
num. 5.*

Catholieke Church; and that he cannot other-
wise discern of such circumstances, but *secundum
humanum intelligentiam modum*, according to the mea-
sure of humane intelligence: and besides, for that
he may erre *in hijs iudicijs quæ ad particularia facta
pertinent*, in those iudgements which concerne
particular facts, (as *Conarruvias* affirmeth) and the
rather because the Pope (as this Examinee fea-
reth) though hee hath all things at commande-
ment, doeth yet stand in these dayes in neede of
one thing, obserued heretofore by a graue Bi-
shop, viz. of a *faithfull Counsellor alwayes at hand
to tell him the trueth*: for it may bee doubted, lest
now it happen, as it did in the sayd Bishoppes
dayes, that from the highest to the lowest, euery
one is giuen to soothe him vp: they tell him
smooth tales, but many doe deceiue him: in these
respects therefore this Examinee is of opinion,
that the Popes proceedings may oftentimes be
iustly misliked, and refused.

9. And to this purpose, this Examinee fur-
ther saith, that he is fully of *Syluesters* minde and
iudgement, where he truely saith, and resolutely
affirmeth, *that if the Pope should command any thing
that doth sapere peccatum, fauour of sin, were it but
a veniall sinne, (the Pope supposing his commandement
to be iust) he were not to be obeyed therein, when those
that are so commanded by him, doe know his comman-
dement to be vniust*: that if by obeying the Pope
it may be vehemently presumed, that great trouble
will ensue to the state of the Church, or that some other
euill

euill or future scandall may thereby arise: the Pope in that case is not to be obeyed, although his commandement be enioyned to be obserued *sub pœnâ excommunicationis lata sententiâ*: vnder paine of excommunication *ipso facto*. And againe, that if the Pope should command a thing vnder paine of Excommunication, *ex cuius executione præsumitur scandalum animarum vel corporum futurum in ciuitate; non est ei obediendum*: by the execution whereof it is presumed that some detriment will insue in that citie, vnto the soules, or bodies of men: he is not therein to be obeyed;

IO. Out of which the premisses (being well considered) this Examine faith, that the State of ENGLAND weighed, as now it is, if the Pope vpon any instigation should excommunicate his Maiestie, depose him from his Crowne, release his Subiects from their obedience, and command them vnder paine of Excommunication to beare armes against him, &c. although he the said Pope were perswaded, that such his proceedings and commandements were iust: yet forasmuch as the Catholickes here in England of any vnderstanding, might easily perceiue and discern, that such an Excommunication should *sapere peccatum*, or might vehemently be suspected, that it would procure a great perturbation of the state of the Church, or produce some other euill, or future scandall; and that the execution of it would bring with it (by presumption) a great detriment or scandall to the soules or bodies of Catholicks.

8. A large Examination

Salmer. tom. 4.
pag. 416. &
410.

tholickes: they were not bound in those cases, to regard the said Excommunication, or any thing therein contained, at the least, to put the same in execution: it being a generall and a true rule, that Peters power was giuen him onely, *ad edificatio- nem*, to edification: *quod alijs verbis solet dici, clauē non errante*: which in other words is vsually said, *the key not erring*, as Salmeron hath well obserued: for as he further saith, *If it be vsed in destructionem*, to destruction, *non est potestas, aut potentia, sed impo- tentia, & defectus*: *hoc possumus, quod iure possumus*: It is not ability or power, but impotencie and defect: wee can doe that, which we can iustly doe: as this Examine hath written in his Letter to the Cardinall.

And with relation to the Popes humane intelligence, Syluester his positions, with the other circumstances and cautions mentioned, this Examine saith, that he writ to Cardinall Bellarmine in this sort, viz. that the Pope hath no power to depose his Maiestie, *quia inde perturbatio Ecclesie, & euersio Catholicorum nostrorum in bonis & posses- sionibus, & detrimenta plurimarum animarum proue- nirent*: because the perturbation of the Church, and the ouerthrow of the Catholickes with vs, in their goods and possessions, and the da- mage of very many soules would thereby en- sue. And againe, *Si Amplitudinis vestrae mitissi- ma dispositio vel minimā ex parte conciperet rui- nae familiarum Catholicarum, quas inferret recu- satio iuramenti; certē non dissentiret à nobis, qui ex*
luctuo-

luctuosissimis spectaculis videmus, inde profecturam esse non modo iacturam animarum, sed etiam totius status Catholici apud nos lamentabilem extirpationem. That is, if your Amplitudes most wilde disposition did but in the least part conceiue the ruines of Catholick families, which the refasall of that oath would bring vpon vs, surely you would not dissent from vs, who by most wofull spectacles do finde, that from thence were like to proceede, not onely the hazard and losse of many soules, but the most lamentable extirpation of the whole Catholicke state amongst vs. And presently after, *Deosita Regis nostri non esset, in ordine ad spiritualia promouenda, sed euerenda*: That is, the deposition of our King would not tend to the order of promoting matters spiritual, but of ouerthrowing them. Moreover, *Qui a quo oculo pericula nostra intueretur, facile aduerteret, potestatem summi Pontificis, in depositione Regis nostri, iam contineri non posse intra fines ordinis ad spiritualia subleuanda, sed excurrere ad supprimenda omnia, quae hactenus in spiritualibus bene posita fuerunt*. That is, Who so should with an indifferent eye behold the dangers we are in, would easily perceiue, that the Popes power in deposing our King, cannot as the case standeth, be contained within the bounds of any order for the aduancing of spirituall matters, but doeth rather breake forth to the suppressing of all, which hath beene hitherto well settled in things spirituall.

12. Now vpon these said grounds and some others, (needlesse then to haue bene sent to Rome) he this Examine saith, that he doubreth not, but that all Catholickes in England might and

may still take the said oath of Allegiance, there being no one clause in it, which, by the doctrine and exceptions here aboue mentioned, may not well and truly be iustified. Besides, this Examinee saith, hee did then chiefly stand vpon the grounds mentioned, because they were most perspicuous and apparant, euen to the simplest sort of Catholicks, and were likely to find some good acceptation at *Rome*, the same being in euery branch of them agreeable to the doctrine, in this behalte there allowed and maintained.

13 Of the insufficiencie of this answer, it was told him, he should afterwards heare more. In the meane time it being demanded of this Examinee, why he himselfe, at the time that he tooke the said oath, did seeme to relie vpon his Maiesties speeches, deliuered in *Parliament* 19. of *May* 1603: whereas he had before taught the Romish Catholicks, and sent his reasons to *Rome* to that end, to prooue it to be lawfull for them to take that oath, without any such reference to his Maiesties speeches: he answering saith, 1. that before hee ever resolved any Catholicke of the lawfulnessse of that oath, he had heard of his Maiesties sayd speeches, though he did not alledge and specifie them to any, before he came himselfe to take that oath. 2. that at his owne taking of the oath, he did in part relve vpon them, and so professed, because he supposed, that thereby he should stay some mens ouer hastie, and precipitate conceits of his taking that oath, and suspend

pend their opinions of his meaning therein, foreseeing what great opposition was like to be made against him (as he touched in his sixth Examination already in print) for yeelding thereunto, especially after the diuulging of the Popes first *Breue*, and some other letters, aduising all Catholicks to the contrary. 3. that being in prison, he thought it his best course (if he could) both to satisfie the State, and to content the Catholicks; which made him to take hold of any fit occasion, that might auaille him to that end, doing nothing therein against the trueth, though he concealed by that meanes some part of it, which now hee perceiueth will bee drawn from him, to some mens dislike he feareth, but (as he hopeth) to Gods glory, the discharge of his conscience, and the good of all graue and moderate Catholicks.

14. Here, vpon occasion, because this Examinee found, that it was ascribed ynto him, as a fault, in that he being a prisoner should write to a man of *Cardinall Bellarmines* ranke, without notice first giuen thereof to the State: he was very earnest, before any more questions were demanded of him, that he might haue license to deliuer his mind in that behalfe. Which being yeelded vnto, he sayth: that being charged by the *Cardinall* to haue in a sort denied the Popes *Supremacy*, in that he tooke the oath of *Allegiance*: and hauing certaine places vrged against him to that purpose out of *Leo* and *Saint Gregorie*: forasmuch as he this Examinee perceiueth thereby,

that the said *Cardinall* did not distinguish betwixt the oath of the Kings *Supremacy* (so termed) made 1. *Eliz.* and the oath of *Allegiance* set out 3. of his Maiestie; the first being ordeined for the abolishing altogether of the authornie in causes Ecclesiasticall, out of this Realme, and the second, without any relation at all to the former, onely seeking to preuent certaine inferences therein mentioned, which were supposed might ensue, by vertue of an Excommunication, and did tend to the great hazard, and endangering of his Maiesties person (as it is supposed) and to the misleading and overthrow of many of his Subiects: hee this Examinee thought himselfe bound in Conscience to write an answer to the said *Cardinall*, as well for the clearing of himselfe in that point (he being readie, if he had twentie liues, to yeeld them all in defence of the Popes *supremacie* in causes Ecclesiasticall) as also for the satisfaction of so great a person, for whose hard opinion of him he would be right sorie. And therefore touching his fact herein, if it be thought amisse of, he humbly craueth pardon.

15. Now as concerning the insufficiencie of this Examinees answer, touching his reasons sent to *Rome*, for the lawfulnessse of taking the oath of Allegiance, consisting of the Popes *humane intelligence* subiect to error, *Syluesters* resolutions, how no such course, as is pretended in the oath of Allegiance could bee vndertaken against his Maiestie by the Pope, (the present state
of

of England considered) because the same should tend, not to *edification* but to *destruction*: it was told this Examinee, that all these points so well by him enlarged, did come farre short of the meaning of the said oath: because it is very vncertaine, what the Romish Catholickes in England would doe, if the Pope should *de facto* proceede with his Maiestie, as some of his predecessours did with the late Queene of worthy memories, which vncertainie the State may not endure. For although the wiser, and more prouident sort of Romish Catholickes might in that case for a time draw backe: yet what the seduced multitude were like enough to doe, if they were able; that is to be foreseene and provided for. Besides, it may well be doubted, what the said temporizers would doe, if a fit opportunitie serued them. Moreover, of what force this conceite was to restrain the late most horrible Traitors, *Catesby*, *Garnet*, and the rest, from their most barbarous and sauage designements, it is apparant. It is the truth without colour, that must either direct mens consciences, or else it is but daubing with vntempered mortar: nothing but mischief is to bee expected from them. Howbeit suppose the best of this deuile and euasion. If the Pope well assisted, did account and determine any extremitie to be yndertaken against his Maiestie, to be *in ordine ad spiritualia*, it is more then probable, that his word and iudgement would bee rather accepted of by the greater number, then that pri-

uate mens exceptions and limitations would at such a time be able to preuaile, or be of any moment. For the preuenting of all which kind of mischiefes, it is most apparant, that amongst other respects for the preservation of his Maiestie and the State, the said oath (vpon the said most barbarous occasion, that euer was giuen to any King, either heathen or Christian) was ordeined.

16 And therefore this Examinat being here required, that for the better contentment of the State in whose hands hee is, and for the trueth sake, wherewith God is honoured, he should open his minde simply and plainly, why in writing to the *Cardinall*, he telleth him, that he tooke the oath in this sense: *Summum Pontificem non habere Imperialem & Ciuilem potestatem ad libitum, & ex suo appetitu deponendi Regem nostrum*: That the Pope hath not an *Imperiall* and *Ciuiill* power, to depose our King, when he pleaseth, and at his owne appetite: suggesting, that the said oath had no other meaning: and that this sense was thrice insisted vpon (before hee this Examinat tooke the said oath) and allowed of by the Magistrate: whereas the words of the oath (which he this Examinat tooke, for ought that appeared to the contrarie, without any equivocation, or mentall euasion whatsoeuer) are cleare and manifest, viz. *That the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or See of Rome, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King.* The oath
saith,

faith, that the Pope hath no power by *any authoritie* of the Church or See of *Rome*, viz: neither *Imperiall*, *Ciuill*, nor *Ecclesiasticall*, whereas this Examine telleth the *Cardinall*, that he onely sware against his *Imperiall*, and *Ciuill* power, whereby he might not so proceede with his Maiestie.

17. With these particular exceptions, this Examinee being somewhat troubled, desired againe, that before he came to the answering of them, he might a little (as by the way) bewaile himselfe, and his present estate: which he did in manner as followeth, saying:

That it was no little griefe vnto him to be apprehended, and cast into prison; that thereupon he hoped his former troubles and oppositions against him would haue ceased: that notwithstanding, as matters are prosecuted, and his proceedings interpreted, hee receiueth nothing but discomfort from each side: that his friendes might haue bene content, to haue expounded his oath in the best part, and the rather, because they perceiued hee found thereby, that he had giuen some reasonable contentmēt to the State, for the ease of his imprisonment (being an old man, and troubled with many bodily infirmities) and for the auoyding of some further extremities: that *Cardinall Bellarmine* might well haue forborne his Letter vnto him, as also his sharpe censures of him, as if by taking the said oath hee had fallen with *Peter*, in denying his Master, and with *Marcellinus*, who offered a false sacrifice, and that thereby

thereby he this Examinee had brought in question one of the chiefe heads of faith, and foundations of Catholicke religion: that hee the said Cardinall might easily haue foreseene, that albeit there had beene no copies of his Letter taken, before it came to him this Examinee, yet that such a vigilant eye is had ouer him in prison, as that it is almost impossible for him to haue kept it vndiscovered, especially there being such bruits of it east abroad, as there were, euen by those that should haue concealed it: that likewise the said Cardinall might not onely well haue thought, that if it happened his Letter to be diuulged, more hurt then good was likely thereof to ensue, except he thought it fit to bring him (this Examinee) into greater hatred, then he was before (which could not auail the common cause) and to prouoke his Maiestie to some greater extremities, then of his most milde and temperate disposition he is inclined vnto; but likewise that it was his this Examinees part in all duety to answer his Letter, which would be also (as it hath now fallen out) as impossible (his case considered) for him this Examinee to performe with any secrecie, as it was, that his the said Cardinals Letter should come vndiscryed vnto this Examinee: that as hee greatly suspecteth, the Cardinals said Letter was cunningly opened, before it came to his this Examinees hands; so he is perswaded, that his answer vnto it will be vsed in the like sort, before it come to the Cardinall: and the rather he so thinketh,

thinketh, for that he findeth alreadie the copie of it by skill and practise, to be as soone published abroad here in *England*, as this Examine could dispatch it for *Rome*; which doth greatly perplexe him, and what may be the issue of it, he knoweth not, but feareth (as he saith) the worst at all hands: that notwithstanding, come what shall come, his hopes being past (which were neuer great) his libertie restrained, (neuer to be recovered) the graue expecting him (which he most desireth) no ioyes, nor comforts but in his blessed Sauiour, he is resolved with patience to expect and vndergoe it: that these and many other such courses held with him, do oftentimes exceedingly grieue and trouble him, in that men abroad and at libertie, haue no more care of poore men, imprisoned for those causes, which they would seeme most earnestly to affect: and that thus hauing eased a litle his heart, and referring himselfe, and his cause to God, he will now addresse himselfe to answer all the partes of the obiection aboue mentioned, syncerely and truely from the botome of his heart, as becommeth a true Catholicke priest, and as he is perswaded in his conscience, without any equiuocation, or euasion, and without regard or feare of any mens persons, or of any inconuenience, or further danger, that might thereby ensue vnto him, or of any slanderous imputations, which he doth easily foresee will be heaped vpon him, of purpose to discredit both him, and that which he findeth he must

needes acknowledge, except he should wilfully denie the truth, or shew himselfe obstinate and peruerse against lawfull authority, which his present estate, and conscience will not permit.

18 And therefore now as touching his this Examinate signification vnto *Cardinall Bellarmine*, that the effect of his oath was: *Summum Pontificem non habere Imperialem & ciuilem potestatem ad libitum, & ex suo appetitu deponendi Regem nostrum*: That the Pope hath not an *Imperiall* and *ciuill* power to depose *our* King, when he *pleaseth*, and at his owne *appetite*: he will (as he saith) answer the same, not in grosse, but by degrees, saying first; That amongst diuers prerogatiues attributed to the Pope *in temporalibus* in temporalities, this is one, which cannot be well denied by any, viz. that the Pope is truly lord of all the temporalities belonging to the Bishopricke of *Rome*. Within the compasse whereof there are some who haue included *England* and *Ireland*, and one especially, whose memorie this Examine doth greatly honour: but yet he must needes acknowledge his ouersight in that point. Thus hee writeth: *Without the approbation of the See Apostolicke, none can be lawfull King or Queene of England, by reason of the ancient accord, made betweene Alexander the third, the yeere 1171. and Henry the second, then King, when he was absolved for the death of Saint Thomas of Canterbury: that no man might lawfully take that Crowne, nor bee accounted as King, till hee were confirmed by the Soueraigne*

*Admonit. to
the Nobilitie
by Card. Allen
1588. pag. 8.*

raigne Pastor of our soles, which for the time should be: this accord afterwards being renewed about the yeere 1210. by king Iohn, who confirmed the same by oath to Pandulphus the Popes Legate, at the special request and procurement of the Lords and Commons, as a thing most necessary, for preservation of the Realme from unjust usurpation of Tyrants, and auoyding other inconueniences, which they had proued, and might easily fall againe, by the disorder of some wicked king. Vnto this report, as it seemeth, and to some other idle conceits a Polonian of late hauing relation, and making mention of the purpose aforesaid, of king Henry the second, and of king Iohn, he writeth (this Examine saith) in this sort, speaking of the Parliament, and of the oath of Allegiance:

*Illud impiè legistatores per insurandum extorquent à Catholicis, ut negent posse à Pontifice Regem deponi, & de ipsius Regnis & ditionibus disponi. Si enim honorariè & piè tributarium regnum Pontifici, quare dispo-
nere, quare refractarium, & inobedientem Principem deponere nequit? That is, The law-makers doe impiously by an oath extort this from the Catholicks, to deny that the King may be deposed by the Pope, and his kingdomes and countries by him disposed of. For if by an honourable and pious graunt, the kingdome haue become tributarie to the Pope: why may he not dispose of it? why may he not depose the Prince, being refractarie and disobedient?*

Stanisla. Cri-
stianovic Exa-
men Cathol.
fol. 34.

19 Concerning the which aforesaid assertions, touching both the said kings, this Examine affirmeth, they are vnttrue. Henry the second ne-

20 *A large Examination*

Ro. Houeden
Annal fol. 303

uer made any such accord With *Alexander* the 3. as is aboue mentioned, for ought this Examineate could euer reade in any Chronicle of credite. He sware to Pope *Alexander*, that he (for his owne part) would not depart from him, or his successors, *quamdiu ipsum sicut Regem Catholicum haberint*: so long as they should entreate him as a Catholicke king. And touching king *Iohn*, inasmuch as his fact that way is of some more probabilitie, but of as little trueth, and that from the said reportes of them both, *Stanislaus Cristanouic* doth inferre, that the Pope may depose his Maiestie, being but a tributarie King vnto him; he this Examineate, by taking his oath, that the Pope had no *Imperiall*, or *Ciuill* power ouer the king, to depose him, did thereby discharge his conscience, for the iustifying of a trueth against the said false reports; that of king *Iohn* being as vntrue as the former. Which this Examineate saith he doth the more boldly affirme, because he hath one of no small account, (in that he died for the Popes supremacie) to take his part therein: besides some other rules of regalitie in that behalfe. Thus Sir *Thomas More* writeth against the author of the *Beggars Supplication*, in king *Henry* the 8. time: *If he* (the authour of that supplication) *say, as indeede some writers say, that king Iohn made England and Ireland tributarie to the Pope and the See Apostolike, by the grant of a thousand markes: wee dare surely say againe, that it is vntrue, and that all Rome neither can shew such a grant, nor neuer could:*
and

Sir Tho. More
supplic. of soules
pag. 296.

and if they could, it were nothing worth: For neuer could any king of England giue away the Realme to the Pope, or make the land tributarie, though he would. And this to bee agreeable to this Examinate owne iudgement, hee doeth acknowledge (as he saith) with all his heart; hoping that the same shal no way preiudice his constant resolution, as touching the Popes *supremacie*, nor offend any that loueth the Crowne and State of England.

20 And as concerning his relying vpon his Maiesties words, *in the sense, approoued by the Magistrate*, when he this Examinee tooke the oath of Allegiance, and insinuating to Cardinall Bellarmine, that the summe of it was accordingly: *Summum Pontificem non habere Imperialem & ciuilem potestatem ad libitum, & ex suo appetitu deponendi Regem nostrum*: that the Pope hath not an *Imperiall* and *ciuill* power to depose our King, when he *pleaseth*, and at his owne *appetite*: he hopeth likewise to giue therein some reasonable contentment. For which purpose he saith, it is to be obserued, that there is an opinion long since broached by the *Canonists*, which hath begun of later times to be more stiffely, and with greater heate prosecuted and maintained, then heretofore, concerning the Popes authoritie in causes temporall: the authors whereof doe with great confidence affirme, that the Pope is as *directly* Lord of the whole world *in temporalibus*, in temporalities, as hee is the head of the vniuersall Church *in spiritualibus*, in matters spirituall: and

that hee hath *directly* as soueraigne an authoritie, in respect of such his worldly dominion, ouer all Emperours, Kings, and Princes, to dispose of them and their kingdomes, when occasion shall require; as hee hath, in regard of his spirituall supremacy, ouer all Bishops and Cleargie men, to aduance and depriue them, when hee thinketh it conuenient, and that they deserue it. The chiefe patrons of this opinion are noted by *Cardinall Bellarmine* to be these, *Augustinus Triumphus*, *Al-narus Pelagius*, *Hostiensis*, *Panormitane*, and *Syluester*: to whom this Examine doeth adde, *Hen-ricus Gandauensis*, *Rodericus Sancius*, *Alexander Alen-sis*, *Celsus Mancinus*, *Tho. Bozius*, *Franciscus Bozius*, *Isidorus Mosconius*, *Card. Baronius*, *Lalius Zecchus*, and *Alexander Carerius*, who nameth diuers o-thers as principall defenders of that opinion; and is himselfe so violent therein, as hee doeth in ef-fect anathematize all, that do oppose themselues against it; not sparing *Cardinall Bellarmine* him-selfe: against whom, forasmuch as his drift is principally, throughout his whole booke, hee was much to blame (this Examine thinketh) to entitle it to be written *aduersus impios politicos, & nostri temporis hereticos*, against the wicked politi-ckes & hereticks of our time. With this *Carerius*, such as are on that side doe resolutely concurre: insomuch as they doubt not (this Examinat con-fesseth) to renew againe the long disliked, and im-pugned assertions of the old *Canonists*, and to pub-lish them now vnto the world more eagerly, then heretofore

*Ell. de Rem.
Pont lib. 5.
cap. 1.*

*Carer. de potest.
Rom. Pont. lib.
2 cap. 9.*

*Carerius edi-
tione Calan.
anno 1601.*

heretofore (as above he hath touched) for sound and Catholicke doctrine; they saying:

21 That David did foretell, that the Priesthood of Christ, should be according to the order of Melchisedech: That when Christ, being a King and a Priest, received all iudgement of the Father, that is, most full iudiciall power: hee ioyning the same with his priesthood, did institute in the Church a Regall priesthood, translating in suos, (that is, to S. Peter and his successors) all the power hee had of his father: That except there should bee one supreme Monarch in the Church in all things, the vnitie of the Church could not be preserved: for seeing the Church, by diuine institution, doth consist of a Kingdome, and a Priesthood; if it were otherwise, there should bee in the same absolutely one Monarch of the Kingdome, and another of the Priesthood: That if, for the auoiding of the dissensions about sacred causes, one supreme head is appointed; why not in the same maner of the Kingdome, that there should bee one and the same head both of the Kingdome and Priesthood, lest in like sort there should be dissension betwixt them? that therfore it is the rather to be held, that Peter doeth supply Christs place, not onely in the Priesthood, but in the Kingdome, that he might bee a King and likewise a Priest, according to the order of Melchisedech, who was both a King and a Priest.

22 That if Christ be King of kings, and Lord of lords; in like sort the Church must be Queene and Lady; and if he be the Lord of all temporalities, shee likewise must be the Lady: That all temporall regall power doeth reside first in the soule of Christ, and then in the Church

Baronij. An-
nal. tom. 1.
Anno 57. pag.
432.

Bar. ibidem
pag. 433.

Franc. Bozi-
us de temporali
Ecclesie Mo-
narchia, in
prafat. ad Cle-
ment. 8.

Tho. Bozius
de iure status
prafat. ad Al-
debrand.

Idem ibi-
dem.

24 A large Examination

Idem lib. 1.
cap. 6 fol. 36.

Isidor. Mos-
con. de ma-
icst. milit.
Eccle. pag. 91.
Idem pag. 656.

Idem pag. 670.

Carer. de po-
test. Rom. Pon-
ti. pag. 9.

Idem pag.
111.

Idem pag.
112.

Church his spouse, the Queene of the world, and from her is deriued to others, (faithfull or infidels) as out of a fountaine: That the Church, the spouse of Christ and Queene of the world, may as oft as the order of the whole doeth require, &c. transferre the proper rights of one vnto another, as a secular Prince may cast downe priuate mens houses, for the beautifying of the Citie, or impose tribute, for the weale publike; that he may thus iustly doe, although he hath not erred, from whom such rights are transferred vnto another: so the Pope gaue the Spaniards the Indians: That the Pontificall and Regall power, and all other powers are most plentiful in the Pope, and doe reside in the Pontificall dignitie: that all Dominions whatsoever doe depend vpon the Church, and vpon the Pope, as the head of the Church: and that in the Pope, authoritie is considered, in Emperours, and Kings power, and thence it is, that power doeth depend vpon authoritie.

23 That true, iust, ordeined by God, and meere dominion, as well in spirituall things as in temporall, was brought forth by Christ, and the same was committed to S. Peter and his successours: That Christ was Lord ouer all inferiours, not onely as God, but likewise as man, hauing euen then dominion in the earth; and that therefore, as the dominion of the world was in Christ both diuine and humane, so it must be confessed, that it was in the Pope, his Vicar: That as God in a secundarie maner, may bee called a temporall ruler and Monarch of the world, although in himselfe, hee is not principally worldly, or temporall: so the Pope may be called a temporall Lord, and Monarch, although his power
bee

be a certaine spirituall thing: That the mysterie of redemption being accomplished, Christ as a king, gave unto Peter the administration of his kingdome, and S. Peter did execute that his power against Ananias and Saphira: That Christ as hee is man, is directly the Lord over all the world in temporalties, and that therefore the Pope is so likewise, in that he is his Vicar: That the supreme power of iudging all, and the top of dignities, and the height of both powers are found in Christs vicar.

24 That there is one principalitie, and one supreme Prince over all the world, who is Christs vicar, according to that of Daniel, chap. 8. He hath given him power, and honour and rule, and all people and tongues shall serue him: and that in him therefore is the fountaine and spring of all principalitie, and from him all other powers doe flow: That the Bishop of Rome in place of Christ is set as a Prince over the whole world in spiritualties and temporalties, and that it is naturally, morally, and by the law of God to be held with a right faith, that the principalitie of the Bishop of Rome is the true, and onely immediate principalitie of the whole world, not onely as touching things spirituall, but likewise temporall; and that the Imperiall principalitie is depending upon it, as being mediate, ministeriall, and instrumentall, ministering and serving it; and that it is ordeined and instituted by it; and as the commandement of the Papall principalitie is mooueable, renocable, corrigible, and punishable.

25 That as the diuine and humane dominion were in Christ: so in Christs stead the dominion of the world

D

in

Rodericus
Sancius apud
Carrer. pa. 132.

Idem ibidem
pag. 131. 132.

Carrerius de
poteft. Rom.
Pont. pag. 150.

26 *A large Examination*

Idem pag. 151. in the Pope, is both spirituall and temporall, diuine and humane: That the vnremoueable trueth doeth designe, by Peters onely comming vpon the water to Christ, that the whole dominion, which is signified by the Sea, is committed to S. Peter and his successors. And that

Idem pag. 155. as the Pope cannot say, that he is not Christs vicar vpon earth, so he cannot deny, but that he is Lord ouer all things, because the earth is the Lords and the fulnesse thereof, whereby all things, heauenly, earthly, and infernall are subiect vnto Christ the Lord: and thence it is, that he did commit vnto the Pope (who doeth supply his place vpon earth) the right of the heauenly and terrene Empire. That the Pope by the Law of God hath

Lal. Zeech. in tract. Theolog. pag. 81.

power and temporall dominion ouer the whole world: that the same is prooued by the words of Luc. 22. Behold, here are two swords, which signifie the power temporall and spirituall: and because Christ, whose vicar the Pope is, hath both powers, according to the words, Matth. vlt. All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in earth; That thence it may be deduced, that the Pope is absolutely the Lord of all the Christian world; and Kings and Christian princes are to acknowledge, that they holde of him their Empires and kingdoms, and all that are faithfull ought to be subiect vnto him; And that as oft as such princes doe any great hurt in the Church, the Pope may depriue them of their kingdoms, and transferre their right to others.

26 It is here to be obserued, of what great reputation in Rome and Italy the authors are, whose opinions this Examine doeth dislike. For to omit Baronius the late Cardinall, Francis Bozius his booke

booke Was approued in *Rome* very authentically to be printed; as conteining nothing in it aduerse to the Catholicke faith: and with the like approbation, the booke of *Thomas Bozius* Was printed in *Rome*: and so was that of *Celsus Mancinus*. *Mosconius* his booke was printed at *Venice*, before the stirres betwixt them and the Pope: and the tractate of *Lelius Zecchus* was printed at *Brixia*. *Carerius* a Doctor of *Padua*, had his booke approued at *Padua*, though it was afterwards printed at *Colein*. Whereupon it was thought meete, by the Examiner, (for whom it was thought as lawfull, to obiekt what he thought fit, as for Master *Blakwell* to frame his owne answeres, according to his owne minde) to offer vnto his further consideration sundry other speeches of his said authors, and some others of the like authoritie, the same being as pertinent to his purpose, as the former by himselfe alledged; where they say, as followeth:

27 That the supreme Jurisdiction temporall throughout all the world, doeth belong to S. Peters successors: so as one and the same is the Hierarch and Monarch in all things: That Christ left the Church to be governed by the best forme of government: but the best forme of government is the absolute Monarchie, euen in all temporall things; therefore Christ left his Church so to be governed: That the keyes of heauen were giuen to Peter; therefore of all the earth: That the right of dominion, and prelation of infidels may iustly, by the sentence and ordination of the Church,

Franc. Bozius de temporali Ecclesia Monarchia. lib. 1. cap. 3. fol.

52. Idem lib. 1. cap. 7. fol. 98.

Idem lib. 2. cap.

14. Idem lib. 3. cap. 1 fol. 394.

28 *A large Examination*

Idem ibidem
cap. 14. fol.
530.

Idem ibidem
cap. 16. fol.
537.

Idem fol. 676.
Idem lib. 5.
fol. 823.

Tho. Boetius
de iure status,
lib. 1. cap. 6.
fol. 37.
Idem ibidem
fol. 52.
Idem lib. 3.
cap. 5. fol. 277.

Idem lib. 4.
cap. 1. fol. 319.

be taken away; because Infidels, by reason of their infidelitie, do deserue to lose their power ouer the faithfull: That the Church hath receined that power ouer nations, which Christ according to his humane nature receiued of the Father: but Christ receiued absolutely of the Father all power in temporalibus; therefore the Church likewise receiued it by participation of his fulnesse: That the supreme power coactiue in all temporall things belongeth to Ecclesiasticall persons, by the diuine lawe, reuealed and expressed in the Scriptures: That kings anointed with holy oyle are called as vassalls of the Church: That by reason of the supreme Monarchie in all things, temporall lawes may be made by the Church, and kingdomes taken away for iust causes.

28. That kings and principall Seculars are not immediatly of GOD, but by the interposition of holy Church, and of her chiefe Bishops: That warlike and militarie compulsiue power is giuen to the Church ouer kings and princes: That if it be found sometimes, that certaine Emperours haue giuen some temporalties to the highest Bishops, as Constantine gaue vnto Syluester, this is not to bee understood, that they gaue any thing which was their owne, but restored that which was vniustly, and tyrannically taken from the said Bishops: That Christ committed to Saint Peter (the carrier of the keyes of eternall life) the right both of the terrene, and celestiaall Empire, as Pope Nicholas saith; from whom we haue it, that he is without doubt an hereticke, that taketh away the rights of the terrene and celestiaall Empire, committed by Christ to the Church of Rome,

Rome, and saith it is lawfull so to doe; and for that he shall be an hereticke in such his assertions.

29 That the Pope is called vniuersall iudge, king of kings, and lord of lords: That the Pope is consecrated, as the great Priest, and crowned as a king, because he hath both powers: That the Pope doeth use his power after two sorts, either absolutely or ordinarily; absolutely, when he derogateth from lawes, in abolishing them; ordinarily, when he useth lawes. Whence this rule is giuen, that the Pope useth the Counsell of his Cardinallcs, when he will line by his lawes: But if hee will use the plenitude of his power, then he disposeth of matters, without the Counsell of his Cardinals, sith his power is of God, and not of the Colledge of Cardinals: That not onely all faithfull people, but likewise Infidels, and euery naturall creature is subiect to the commandement of the Pope; he is to bee worshipped of all men: and for this cause he receiveth of all the faithfull adorations, prostrations, and kissings of his secte: That vnto the Pope, as to the Pastor of the Church, and the Bishop of that holy See, and by reason of his Dominion, and excellencie, is giuen adoratio dulię, the worship giuen to Images and Saints: That the Bishop of Rome in signe of his Empire and kingdome, doth use upon his head a Regall Diademe, and in token of his Priesthood and Pontificall Majestie, a Miter: That Emperors and Kings may bee compelled to keepe their oathes taken in their coronation and confirmation, in that by verue of such an oath, they are made the Popes subiects.

Isidor. Mose.
de maiest milit.
tant. Ecclesia.
pag. 27.
Idem pag. 77.
Idem. pag. 95.

Idem pag. 96

Idem pag. 92.

Idem pag. 99.

Idem pag. 677.

30 That by the law of God and nature, the Priest-
hood

30 A large Examination

Henric. Gauden. apud Carer. pag. 128. hood doeth ouer-top the Empire: and both Iurisdictiones ouer spiritualties and temporalties, and the immediate execution likewise of them both, depend vpon the Priesthood, both by the law of God and of nature: That they which say, the Pope hath dominion ouer all the world in spiritualties, but not in temporalties, are like the Counsellors of the king of Syria, who said: The Gods of the mountaines are their gods: and therefore they haue ouercome vs: let vs fight with them in the plaines and valleyes, where their gods dwel not, and we shall preuaile against them. 3. Reg. 20. That the sonne of God hath declared the altitude of the Ecclesiasticall power, being as it were founded vpon a rocke, to be aboue all principalitie and power; that vnto it all knees should bee bowed of things, in heauen, in earth, and vnder the earth, or in hell: That secular powers were not necessarie, but that Princes might performe that, through terrour of discipline, which the Priest cannot effect by power of doctrine: and that therefore, if the Church could punish euill men, Imperiall and secular principalitie were not necessarie, the same being included potentially, in the principalitie Apostolicall.

Aug. Triumph. apud Carer. pag. 130. 31 That there are diuers powers of men giuen by God, and diuerse authorities, all which doe depend vpon the highest authoritie (meaning the Popes) and thence as the starres from the sunne doe receiue their light: That the Imperiall power, concerning the administration of temporall matters, doeth proceed from the Pontificall power, as the light of the Moone doeth from the light of the sunne: That as God is the supreme

Idem ibidem pag. 132.

Carer. de pot. Rom. Pont. pag. 142.

Idem pag. 145.

Idem pag. 150.

preme Monarch of the world, and the gouernour of all
 temporalties, productiue & gubernatiue, by produ-
 cing and gouerning them, though of himselfe he be not
 temporall and of the world: so it must be confessed,
 that although his Vicar the Pope hath originally, and of
 himselfe the dominion ouer all temporalties: yet he hath
 it not by immediate execution, but doeth by his uni-
 uersall Iurisdiction commit the same vnto the Empe-
 rour: That the Bishop of Rome is the highest father
 and man of the world, and the vniuersall Vicar and
 Lord of the world, and that all others doe depend vpon
 him, as their builder, and that otherwise, if one should
 place the Emperour by himselfe, in respect of his tem-
 poralties, he should grant two beginnings, which were
 heresie: That the Empire of Rome, before it was
 conuerted to Christ, was a Dominion vsurped and ty-
 rannicall, because the true dominion was in the line of
 Christ: That the Emperour is the Popes minister: for
 God did appoint him, tanquam summi sacerdotis
 ministrum, to be as a minister of the highest Priest:
 That the Imperiall power doth depend vpon God, by the
 interposition of his Vicar, to make it complete and for-
 mall, and that the Emperour ought so to receiue it:
 That no King or Emperour hath Iurisdiction, or domi-
 nion, but from Christ, and by consequence can haue none
 at all, but from his Vicar.

Idem pag. 151.

Idem pag. 161.

Idem ibidem.

Idem pag. 162. & 163.

Idem pag. 172.

32 That in the highest Bishop, both the powers and
 Iurisdctions are, spirituall and temporall, and that as he
 is the most eminent person of all men in spirituall
 power, so is he in temporall: so that it may lawfully bee
 affirmed of Christs Vicar, by a certaine similitude, that

Cels. Mancinus
 lib. 3. cap. 1.
 & Carer. pag.
 133.

Plato

Plato in Timæus said of God: asking in Timæus, what was God: he answereth, he is not a man, nor heaven, nor good, but something better: if one aske whether the highest Bishop be a Duke, a king, an Emperor, or a Prince, he shall answer warily, if by denying hee affirme, the Pope to be quid præstantius, quidue eminentius, some thing more excellent and more eminent.

Isidor. Mos-
con pag. 22.

That the Bishop of Rome is called Papa of Papæ an interiection of admiration: because his dignitie and power is admirable to all men, and is as it were the amazement of the world, according to the glosse, in the proeme of the Clementines, where it is read in these words, Papa stupor mundi, non Deus, non homo, sed utrumque: the Pope is the wonderment of the world, not God, nor man, but both.

Ibidem.

That the Pope doeth execute ordinarily his iurisdiction (temporall) in S. Peters patrimonie, but casually in all kingdomes:

Idem pag 63.

That the holy historiographer in the old lawe, made the priesthood an adiective to the kingdome; but S. Peter made the kingdom an adiective to the priesthood: That

Idem pag. 66.

if we will follow the phrase of Scriptures, and attend the Greeke copie, and that tongue: it must needs be confessed, that our Saviour Iesus in those words: Feede, Feede, Feede my sheepe, did ordeine his vicar, and committed vnto him temporall and spirituall power:

Idem pag 80.

That all temporall Iurisdiction must be exercised, not at the Popes commandement, but at his becke. Princes will, charge, command; God who is lord of all, doeth by his becke command, according to that saying,

Dixerat & nutu totum tremefecit Olympum:

Idem pag. 85.

And that Christ had full Iurisdiction over all the world,
and

and all creatures, and therefore the Pope his vicar,
hath so.

33 With the offering of these speeches to this
Examinates consideration, he was much offend-
ed, saying, that now he perceiueth, it is more
sought to bring him into hatred, then to make
prooffe of his true Allegiance : because these
things are onely produced in scorn of his Hol.
(as he conceiueth) in defence of whose *Suprema-
cie* in spirituall causes, he is readie to yeeld his life:
and therefore answered plainly, that he thought
himselſe very hardly dealt with in this point.
But reply being made, that his ſaid offence taken,
and discontentment thereupon vttered ſeemed
very ſtrange, how it was come to paſſe with him,
that thoſe things which are publiſhed to the
world by ſo many, and with ſo great an appro-
bation in *Rome*, to no other end, but that all the
world ſhould take notice of them, ſo much diſ-
quiet and trouble him, by the very repetition of
them.

34 Wherunto this Examine ſaith, that the
repeating of the ſaid ſpeeches doeth not ſo much
moue him, as the drift whereat they aime. For if
that which is ſufficient might giue contentment,
(theſe ſpeeches, produced out of the authors by
him cited, agreeing in effect, with that which he
himſelſe had alledged out of them) he did before
declare his opinion of them; when hee termed
them, *the long-ſince diſliked and impugned assertions
of the Canonists*: and more (he ſaith) by the offe-

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ring

ring of them to his consideration, cannot well be required of him, it being no way appertaining any more vnto him, to censure the flatterers of the Pope, then of Kings and Princes, who to please them, doe oftentimes no doubt say more then is true. Whereupon he addeth, that whatsoeuer he did cite out of the said authors, he did it with much grieve, and would not so farre haue enlarged himselfe therein, had he not conceiued, that his Maiestie had an especiall respect vnto this opinion of the Popes direct authoritie *in temporalibus*, so highly aduanced aboue all kings and Emperours, when hee vsed in *Parliament* these wordes in effect: viz. *that by the doctrine of the Popes supremacie he (the said Pope) doth not onely claime to be spirituall head of all Christians, but also to haue an Imperiall Ciuill power ouer all Kings and Emperours, dethroning and decrowning princes with his foote, as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all kingdomes and Empires at his appetite: and that another point, which they (meaning the Catholicks) obserue in continuall practise, is the assassines and murthers of kings, thinking it no sinne, but rather a matter of saluation, to doe all actions of rebellion and hostilitie against their naturall Soueraigne Lord, if he be once cursed, his subiects discharged of their fidelitie, and his kingdom given a praye to their three crowned Monarch.* Through the which his Maiesties speech, this Examinee did verily think, that the oath of Allegiance was ordeined, to meete with such mischiefes, as the *Parliament* supposed

supposed (according to his Maiesties said words) to be dangerous consequences of this forenamed opinion : which hee this Examinee signified, when hee tooke that oath, and mentioned (as is aforesaid) in his letter to the *Cardinall*. Wherein he seeth not (as he saith) what iust offence can be taken, in that he told the *Cardinall*, how he had sworne, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no *Imperiall* and *Ciui*l power, to depose at his pleasure the kings Maiestie. For as he then sware, so he doth now constantly affirme, that he holdeth the opinion before spoken of, concerning the Popes direct Dominion, and supreme authoritie ouer all the world *in temporalibus*, to be vnttrue, notwithstanding the peremptory resolution, and vehemency shewed by the authors of it, affirming (but falsely) that it is the more common opinion of Diuines, to be held by the law of God *cum recta fide*, With a right faith.

35 But here it being obiected, that although the said oath was framed to meete with the opinion before by him mentioned; yet that this his restraining of it thereunto, doeth not attaine to that, which he knew was intended by it. For in his said letter to the *Cardinall* he doth cite sundry authors, which speake of another kinde of authoritie, ascribed to the Pope, and tending by a nice distinction to this effect : that *in ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to things spirituall, and *indirectly* all kings and princes, with their kingdomes and countries, are subordinate, and subiect vnto

him; insomuch as if he see cause, and that kings and princes will not be aduised by him, in matters of the Church appertaining to their saluation, he may not onely Excommunicate them, but proceeding by degrees, depose them, absolue their subiects from their oathes of Allegiance, and rightfully commaund them (if neede be) to beare armes against them: which is as lewd and traitorous an opinion, as the former, and doeth tend to the same end with it, though vnder diuers pretences. So as if hee tooke the oath, but with relation onely to the first opinion, leauing himselfe free as touching the second, it was all one, as if he had not taken it at all: and therefore being pressed to cleare this point, he answereth, as hereafter followeth.

36 First, he doth acknowledge the obiection to be very pertinent, and rightly collected out of his letter, confessing this second opinion, not to come behinde the first, either for the earnestnesse of those, that defend it, or for their learning and sufficiencie, being such indeede, as doe in credite farre ouersway the estimation of their opposites. *Cardinall Bellarmine* himselfe hath laboured much in it, and these authors following doe ioyne with him in that point, *Henricus, Iohannes Driedo, Iohannes de Turre cremata, Albertus Pighius, Thomas Waldensis, Petrus de Palude, Cardinall Caietane, Franciscus Victoria, Dominicus Soto, Nicolaus Sanderus*: to which number this Examinee saith, he could adde diuers others, as *Martinus Aspilcueta,*

Couar-

Couarruias, &c. Of which opinion Cardinall Bellarmine saith, that it is *communis sententia Catholicorum Theologorum*: the common opinion of Catholicke Diuines: albeit *Alexander Cacerius*, and *Rodericke Sancius* doe affirme as much for the other. In this number, this Examine confesseth, that he did range himselfe in his late letter to the said Cardinall, as inclining rather to his side, then to the other: being notwithstanding bound to neither of them, vpon any danger of declining from the Catholicke faith. So as if now hee vse his libertie therein as touching his Maiestie, hee hath (as he supposeth) Cardinall Bellarmine himselfe for his author therein.

37 For where there is this clause in the oath of Allegiance, *I doe further sweare, that I doe from my heart detest and abiure, as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and position; that Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed, or murdered by their Subiects, or any other whatsoever*: Cardinall Bellarmine saith, that it was neuer heard of *ab initio nascentis Ecclesie, usque ad hæc nostra tempora, ut ullus Pontifex Maximus Principem ullum quamuis hereticum, quamuis Ethnicum, quamuis persecutorem cadi mandauerit*: from the first birth of the Church, vnto these our times, that any Pope euer commaunded any prince, though an heretick, though an Ethnicke, though a persecuter, to be slaine: And that therefore the feare which is pretended of the Kings life (if the Bishop of Rome had the same authoritie in England,

gland, which hee hath in other Christian kingdomes) is vaine, and that all pretences tending that way, are but *stratagemata Satanae*, the deceits of Sathan. The which affirmations of the *Cardinals* being true, the same for ought this Examinee seeth, doe iustifie the said part of the oath by him taken, euen the very same, which of all other parts in it, is most misliked by many Catholickes in England. For it must needs be granted generally, that were it not in respect of the Popes excommunication of Kings and princes, his deposing of them from their Crownes, and his absolving of their subiects from their Allegiance, it could neuer be lawfull for any of them to rise vp against their lawfull kings and Soueraignes vnder whom they were borne. And it is all one (in this Examinats iudgment) for the Pope to command a king to be murdered, as to doe, and commaund that, whereby the same is by others of duetie to be effected. And then it followeth out of the *Cardinals* words, that it can neuer be lawfull by the Popes authoritie, either *direct* or *indirect*, for any subiect (vpon any pretence whatsoever, or vnder the countenance of any authoritie, to excommunicate, and depose Kings, or absolve their Subiects from their Allegiance) to lay violent hands vpon his Soueraigne, which is in effect that part of the oath aboue mentioned, whereunto this Examinee did sweare.

38 Furthermore, because it was againe tolde
this

this Examinee, that this his last answer to part of the said oath, stood after a sort but vpon an inference of the *Cardinals* meaning, and was no way sufficient to satisfie the aforesaid obiection; hee this Examinee renewed his former desire of proceeding by such degrees, as hee himselfe thought most fit, for the discharge of his duty both to God and his Maiestie: and thereupon saith; that he beleeueth in his conscience, that the Pope is *S. Peters* successour, and the head of the Catholick Church: and that although materiall and worldly keyes may open and shut, vpon fauour and friendship; yet the keyes of the kingdome of heauen doe respect no mens persons, be they poore or rich, noble or ignoble, high or low, kings or subiects: so as in his iudgement none may be exempted from the Popes Excommunication, when there is iust cause (vpon due consideration of all circumstances) to inflict it: adding thereunto, that hee holdeth it to be the duty of all Christian kings and princes, to submit themselves in causes of religion to the Bishop of Rome, as vnto their chiefe Bishop and Pastor of their soules. Which profession thus made, this Examinee desired, that one point in his former Examination published in print, might here be receiued, as part of his answer to the obiection aboue specified. Sect. 16.

39 For there this Examinat (as he truly saith) *M Blakwels Exam. pag. 18, 19.*
 Being urged to explicate himselfe, touching the
 sence he relied vpon, out of his Maiesties words,
 when

40 *A large Examination*

when he took the oth of *Allegiance*, in that it was said, hee might so vnderstand them, as not withstanding his oath, that dutie which was expected, was no way satisfied: because his Maiesties meaning was euident, that hee did account it to proceed from appetite and rashnesse in any of the Bishops of Rome whosoever, who presuming to Excommunicate any King, should by the same either absolue his Subiects from their obedience, or excite them to beare Armes against him, or authorize them to lay violent hands vpon his person, or to stirre vp any sedition or tumult within his Kingdom, or to assist any that should make such attempts either against the King, or the State of the Kingdome: he this Examine answereth now, as he answered then for the further opening of his meaning, saying, his iudgement is, that no lawfull Excommunication (termed either Excommunicatio maior, the greater Excommunication, or Ecclesiasticall curse of Anathematization) can produce such effects, or ought to enforce the same; and that hee agreeth therein with many sound Catholike writers (as he thinketh) and particularly with these following: and so drawing out his pocket-notes (as oft, vpon fundry occasions he did) hee caused their words to bee set downe for the better declarati-

on

on of his duetic. *Excommunicatio non nisi excom-
municatum facere potest, eaq; fulminatur in Principes,
non ut tyranni fiant, neq; ut suis ditionibus remouean-
tur, neq; ut subiectis laxentur habenda, vel jurata fide
liberentur: That is, An Excommunication can but
make a man Excommunicate: and it is thundered a-
gainst Princes, not to the end, that they should thereby
become tyrants, or bee remooved from their Domini-
ons, or that the ruiner should be loosed unto Subjects, or
they bee freed from the oath of their fidelitie. Ludou.
Richeome in Apologet. pa 175. And againe Soto
saith, as Medina doeth alleadge him; *Quod Ex-*
communicatio non est privatio alicuius boni proprii,
quod transgressor legis prius possederat: sed est privatio
bonorum communium, quae ab Ecclesia erat percep-
turus, ut communionis spiritualis, & receptionis Sa-
cramentorum: That is, Excommunication is not the
privation of any proper or peculiar good, whereof the
transgressor of the law was formerly possessed: but of
those common benefits, which hee should have reaped
from the Church, as of the spirituall Communion, and
receiuing of the Sacraments. And S. Thomas saith:
Aliud est Excommunicatio, & aliud Eradicatio:
Excommunication is one thing, and Eradication
another: which is set downe in the Canon Law
of an Epistle of Pope Urbane, where it is said:
Liquido apparet, aliud esse excommunicationem, aliud
eradicacionem. Qui enim excommunicatur (ut Apo-
stolus ait) ad hoc excommunicatur, ut spiritus eius
saluus fiat in die Domini: Disciplina enim est Excom-
municatio, & non eradicatio. That is: It doeth
plainely*

Medina in pri-
mam secunda
pag. 513. q. 96.
art. 4.

Tho. Aquin. se-
cunda secunda.
q. 11. art. 3.

Decret. 2. parte
caus. 24. q. 3.
cap. 37.

plainely appeare, that Excommunication is one thing, and Eradication another. For he which is Excommunicated, is (as the Apostle saith) to this end Excommunicated, that his soule may bee saved in the day of the Lord. For Excommunication is a correction, and not an extirpation. So as this Examine here saith, that for as much as hee hath before acknowledged, that the Kingdome of England, is no part of the Popes possessions, nor any more subiect vnto him, then other Christian Kingdomes are: that the Pope hath no Imperiall or Ciuill authoritie to depose his Maiestie: and that the Popes Excommunication (which is the chiefe censure of his spirituall authoritie) can bring toorth no such effects, as are supposed in the said oath of Alleageance, viz. neither deposition, eradication, absolution of Subiects from their obedience, nor any sufficient warant either to rebel, or to lay violent hands vpon any King: he this Examine is perswaded, that litle more can bee required at his hands, in answere of the said maine obiection, touching the sense of that oath, according to the effect of his Maiesties speeches, insinuated (as is aboue said) by him this Examine vnto the Cardinall.

40 Before the further pressing of the insufficiencie of all that hitherto he hath saide for the clearing of the said obiection, Sect. 35. for as much as in his last speeches, touching Excommunication, hee saide that Excommunication could bring forth no such fruits as he there recited.

red: it was demanded of him, how that his as-
 sertion could agree with these points of Popish
 doctrine, published by a classicall author of the
 Romish sect; where hee laboureth to prooue by
 sundry reasons, that *Henry. 3.* being king of France
 stood diuerse yeeres excommunicated, before he
 was murthered; as hauing committed many of-
 fences, which were subiect *ipso iure* to diuerse Ex-
 communications, as namely that of the Bull
Cœna Dominica: some of which faults he setteth
 downe to be these following: shewing the saide
 king to haue bene excommunicated *ipso facto*, for
 euery one of them: for example, 1. *quod hereti-*
cis fauebat. 2. *quod Simoniacus.* 3. *quod cum hereticis*
(Reginâ Angliæ & Nauarro) fœdus inierat. 4. *quod*
bona Ecclesiæ, Pontifice inconsulto, occupauerat, &c.
 1. for that hee was a fauourer of hereticks. 2. for
 that he was a Simonist. 3. for that he had entered
 into league with hereticks, (the Queene of Eng-
 land, and the Nauarrian.) 4. for that without the
 Popes priuie he had seized the possessions of
 the Church. Whereupon after many other dis-
 courses and allegations of Scriptures, fathers, hi-
 stories, and What not, he falleth ypon this con-
 clusion, that the said king was lawfully murthe-
 red, before any Excommunication of him was
 published, saying, *Non percipit formulam publicus*
dolor: Common grieue is not capable of forme.
 And that albeit *in occulto crimine* in a hidden
 crime no man ought to bee condemned *indictâ*
causâ, or before he be cited and called: yet in pub-
 lique

*De Iusta abdic.
 Hen. 3. l. 2.
 cap. 35.*

Ibid. lib. 4. c. 2.

Idem ibidem.

lique and notorious crimes, such as by no tergiversation can be hid, *Evidens notitia facti, nentia locum tenet*: Evident notice of the fact is in place of a Sentence. All which particulars doe crosse this Examines former opinion, how excommunication had no power to deprive any King from his kingdome, and could much lesse giue authoritie to murder him.

41 Whereunto this Examine answereth, that what priuate men Write, ought neither to be imputed to the doctrine of the Catholique Church, nor to any other mans preiudice, who is of another iudgment: and yet he saith, that these points propounded out of the said author are so farre out of ioint and so intolerable, as he holdeth them in his iudgement to be most false, and dangerous, not onely to all protestant Kings and princes, but in like manner to those that are Catholiques. For (saith he) if all of them may bee so dealt with by their subiects, who stand excommunicated *ipso iure*, by many excommunications, but especially by the Bull *Cane Dominica*, hee knoweth no king liuing, who may be secure, either of his kingdome, or of his life.

42 It being here againe objected vnto this Examinee, that because it is apparant, that all Kings and Princes who haue reiected the Popes Supremacie, though otherwise they embrace the Gospel, are generally accounted by all Romish Catholickes to be heretickes: he this Examinee must, in the duty of his Allegiance, necessarily
 answer,

answere, concerning the positions following, whether he doeth allow them, or disallow them; the same being the effects of the Popes Excommunications, even *ante Sententiam latam*, before Sentence denounced, which are likewise contrary to his former iudgement.

43 The Canon Lawes (sayth no meane man) being authentick in the lawfull tribunals of the Christian world, doe make all heretikes (not onely after they bee namely and particularly denounced, but by the Law it selfe *ipso facto*, as soone as they bee heretikes, or de iure, excommunicated for the same) to bee deprived of their Dominions. And another of little lesse credit then the former, writeth thus: *Hinc inferatur* Card. Allen against the execution of Justice. pa. 37.

Philop. pag. 194.

universa Theologorum ac Iurisconsultorum Ecclesiasticorum Schola, & est certum, & de fide, quamcumq; Principem Christianum, sive Religione Catholicam manifeste deflexerit, & alios advocare voluerit, excidere statim omni potestate ac dignitate, ex ipsa vi iuris, tum humani, tum divini, hocq; ante omnem sententiam Summi Pastoris ac Iudicis contra ipsos prolatam; & subditos quoscunq; liberos esse ab omni iuramenti obligatione, quod ei de obedientia, tanquam Principi legitimo, praestitissent: posseq; & debere (si vires habeant) istiusmodi hominem, tanquam Apostatam, hereticum, ac Christi Domini desertorem & reipub. inimicum, hostemq; ex hominum Christianorum dominatu aggerat, ne alios inficiat, vel suo exemplo, aut imperio à fide avertat. Atque haec certa, definita, & indubitata virorum doctissimorum sententia doctrina Apostolica conformis plane ac consona est: That is; Hereupon the whole

Schoole of Diuines and Canonists doth inferre, and it is certaine, and of faith: that any Christian Prince whatsoever, if hee shall manifestly defect from the Catholicke Religion, and endenour to withdraw others from the same, doeth presently fall from all power and dignitie, by the very force of humane and diuine law, and that also before any Sentence of the Supreme Pastour and Iudge against him denounced: and that his subiects whatsoever are free from all obligation of that oath, which they had performed for their allegiance vnto him, as to their lawfull Prince: and that they may and ought (if they haue forces) to elect such a man as an Apostata, an hereticke, and a backslider from the Lord Christ, and an enemy to the Common wealsh, out of all dominion ouer Christians, lest hee infect others, or by his example, or commandements auert others from the faith. And this certaine, definite, and vndoubted opinion of the best learned men, is wholly agreeable and consonant to the Apostolicall doctrine. And to this purpose diuers others of the same humour might be alledged.

44 Whereupon this Examinee at the last (though he was hardly drawen vnto it, in respect of the persons, whose wordes were cited, much honoured and reuerenced by him) did giue this answer, saying in effect, as he did concerning the authors whose assertions were propounded vnto him in the next precedent objection, viz. That these men had their particular opinions, as hee hath his, but confesseth that these their assertions last mentioned are farre from his iudgement, vnderly denying them to bee the inferences of the
Schoole

schoole of all Diuines, and Ecclesiasticall Law-
 yeers, or that they are either *de fide* of faith, or cer-
 taine, or defined, or the yndoubted opinions of
 the most learned men, agreeable to the doctrine
 of the Apostles. Besides, whatsoeuer this Exa-
 minate hath formerly said touching his reasons
 sent to Rome, or out of Syluester, or touching the
 present estate of this Kingdome, or his former
 iudgement, that an Excommunication can nor
 warrant any such kinde of proceedings of sub-
 iects against their Princes (be they Hereticks or
 Apostates, or whatsoeuer they be) doth iustle di-
 rectly with these assertions: and therefore hee
 saith, that hee doth vterly reiect them, account-
 ing them great staines and blemishes vnto Ex-
 communication, if they bee made the effectes
 thereof.

45. Here it falling out aptly to come to the
 point indeed (mentioned Sect. 33.) the same was
 pressed. For whereas it is cleare by this Exami-
 nates confession, that they of the Romish church
 haue not onely amongst them Excommunication
 of Princes, but likewise (as hee hath before
 shewed out of certaine their authenticall Writers)
 an Eradication and viter extirpation, which must
 (as it appeareth) be effected not by Excommuni-
 cation, but by vertue of the Popes authority, ei-
 ther as he is *directly Dominus Temporalium*, that is,
 the chiefe Temporall Lord vnder Christ ouer all
 the world, or *indirectly, in ordine ad spiritualia*, in
 order to things spirituall: forasmuch as both of
 them

them doe tend to one end, and are equally pernicious and trayterous to all Regall Principalitie and authoritie; it being litle to the purpose to detract from Excommunication, that it hath no power to depose kings, or to absolue their subjects from their Allegiance, if there be left in the Pope another kinde of power, after that by his Excommunication he hath cast kings to the deuill (in his owne idle conceit) then to eradicate them likewise and throw them out of their kingdoms, and to authorize and incite their subjects to all secret conspiracies, treasons, rebellions and trecheries against their Soueraignes: this Examine was heere againe vrged vpon his allegiance to his Maiestie, and as there was any trueth to bee expected at his hands, to set downe his iudgement, touching this point of the Popes pretended Soueraigne power *in Temporalibus*, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to things spirituall, as he hath done before, concerning the other pretence of his *direct* authoritie.

46 With this point this Examine (as it seemed) being much perplexed said, that now indeed the matter was followed to the quicke: and therefore desired that it might be sufficient for him to acknowledge, that in his iudgement the Pope hath authoritie to Excommunicate (when there is cause) the greatest King in the world, professing Christianitie; but (sayth hee) for his other power, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to things spirituall, it cannot touch his Maiestie.

47 Hereupon, for that this Examinee had often before desired, that hee might speake of things by degrees & not in grosse, it was thought fit to proceed herein with him accordingly. And therefore hee was first put in minde, what he had before said in the beginning of this his Examination, concerning his iudgement of the obedience due to princes by the precepts of Christ and his Apostles, Sect. 2: of the continuance of the said precepts: of his dislike, that any should imagine, either Christ or his Apostles in their said precepts to haue temporized, as willing Christians, then liuing vnder persecuting Emperours, to obey no longer, but vntill they were able by force to suppress them, Sect. 3 (and so as aboue more at large it doth appeare:) and being thereupon demaunded, whether hee continued still in the same iudgement, without any equiuocation or euasion whatsoever; he thereunto answering resolutely, that he did; and that in so affirming, hee deliuered his conscience clearly as in the sight of God: he was required, for the better assurance to be giuen thereof, to signifie his iudgement sincerely and truely, what hee thinketh of the assertions following, which doe thwart directly his iudgement, so settled as he hath professed, touching the first 300. yeeres after Christ.

48 *Nos illa non mouent, quod Martyres dicuntur mortem tolerasse, & ut Tyrannos Ecclesia infestos deponerent, minimè fategisse. Quia ut laudabile est, cum resistere nequeas, ita ubi possis resistere religionis ac pa-*

De abdic. Hen. 3. lib. 1. cap. 3. !

tria hosti, nolle, nefarium & perniciosum est. That is, Those things mooue vs not, that Martyrs are sayd to haue endured death, and not endeuoured any wayes to depose Tyrants, being enemies to the Church. For, as not to resist the enemy of your religion and countrey, when you are not able, is commendable: so when you are able, not to do it, is wicked, and pernicious.

Allen defence
against the
1st. of Eng-
land. cap. 5.
pag. 107.

The holy Bishops might most lawfully haue excommunicated the Arrian Emperours, and haue warranted their Catholick subiects to haue defended themselves by armes against them; but they did not so, by reason of greater forces of the persecutors.

Idem ibidem.

Moreover, there is no question, but the Emperours Constantius, Valens, Iulian, and others, might haue beene, by the Bishops excommunicated, deposed, and all their people released from their obedience; if the Church, or Catholickes had had competent forces to haue resisted.

Bellar. de Rom.
Pontif. lib. 5.
cap. 7.

And to the purpose last mentioned: *Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem, & Diocletianum, & Iulianū Apostatam, atq. Valentem Arrianum, & similes, id fuit, quia deerant vires temporales Christianis. Nam alioqui iure poterant id facere.* That is, If the Christians of ancient times did not depose Nero, and Diocletian, and Iulian the Apostata, and Valens the Arrian, and such like, it was, because temporal forces were then wanting to the Christians; for otherwise they might lawfully haue done it.

49 To these Assertions (being thus pressed vpon him) after sundry tergiversations, in respect of the dignitie of the persons, whose words were

were before mentioned, and of the discredit and danger he should cast himselfe into, by intermedling with their opinions; yet in regard of his due-ty to God, to his Maieslie, and to the truth, (so farre as he is able to discern it) at the last he answereth: that howsoever the said assertions may be politicall, yet surely in his iudgement they are not Theologicall: that hee wondreth how it commeth to passe, that these and the like sayings are so frequent of late dayes in many writers, considering that neither in the bookes of godly martyrs, during the first 300. yeeres after Christ, nor in the writings of the most principall ancient fathers, for many yeeres after, there is so much as a syllable (to this Examinates remembrance) that tendeth that way.

50. Besides, hee saith, that if these conceits should grow to be in credit, the reputation of the Apostles must needs decrease, as having bene in their times but Temporizers; which M. Blackwood, a sound Catholicke, doth collect out of certaine words of *Buchanans*, tending in effect to the same purpose with the former assertions: where shewing, that the Christians in *Tertullians* time (notwithstanding they had sufficient forces) did not thinke it lawfull to beare armes against their Emperors (as above this Examine hath said) he the said M. Blackwood writeth in this sort:

Paulus utendam foro precepit? Larvatum hypocrisis, sub personâ religionis, latere voluit? Potestatibus obedientiam edixit, quia resisti non posset? Christianos

*Blackwoodi
Apolog. pro Re-
gibus. pag. 259.*

viribus auctos, ad arma cessantes, ad arma concitat, Imperiumq; frangit? That is, Did Paul command men to temporize? Was it his meaning, that masked hypocrisie should lurke vnder the semblance of religion? Did he therein shew obedience to higher powers, because they could not resist? Did he excite Christians, being once increased in strength, to take armes, and overthrow the Empire? And a little after, he sheweth out of Clements, Peters disciple, speaking of the great tumult that Caiphas made in Ierusalem, that the Christians, *et si numero plures, virtute potiores, propter Numinis obedientiam, occidi maluisse quam occidere*: though more in number, and mightier in power, yet for their obedience to God, they chose rather to be killed then to kill: and thereupon doth describe the duety of subiects, and the armour of Christians, which are prayers and teares.

Moreover, this Examine doth not (as he saith) but that the Bishops of Rome in Tertullians time, and afterwards, were as godly and zealous Popes, as any have liued since; that they very well knew, what authority did belong vnto them: and that if the aforesaid assertions had bene good Diuinitie then, considering the numbers, force and abilitie of Christians in those dayes, the said Popes out of question would haue left some monument of their zeale, in the execution of their authority and of the Christians readinesse (hauing force) to resist their Emperors; whereas none such indeed are to bee found. For these

these and many other such reasons, as might bee brought for this purpose, this Examinee saith, that he doth wholly disallow the said assertions, propounded vnto him as tentations to try him: and that therefore he doth rest in the iudgement before by him set downe, without all kinde of euasions and equiuocations whatsoeuer, professing, that if he could set downe his minde more plainly herein, he would haue bene very willing thereunto.

52. Againe this Examinee being required, that because he had formerly inuolued himselfe into sundry difficulties, to the distaste of his Maiestie and the State, by some his intricate, and vncertaine answers heretofore made, he should to the point now propounded vnto him, answer directly, and vpon his learning, credit, and reputation: he saith, that indeede hee doth not remember that euer any Pope vntill *Gregorie* the seuenth, did adde to Excommunication any clause of their authoritie to depose Emperors, or kings, or to absolue their subiects from their allegiance, or to command them vnder paine of Excommunication to beare armes against them; and *D. Thomas* handling this point, doth onely relie therein vpon *Gregorie* the seuenth. Also he confesseth, that when *Gregorie* so dealt with the Emperour, there was great dislike and repining at it, as it may appeare by *Otho Frisingensis* and *Sigebertus*; whom he would not haue named (hee saith) because *Baronius* hath laid a touch vpon them of

*Tho. Aquin. 2. d.
2. q. 112.
art. 2.*

*Otho Frising.
lib. 6 cap. 35.*

Idem de gestis
Frid. lib. 1.
cap. 1.
Sigebert. in
Anno 1088.

Vincent. in
spec. Hist.
lib. 25. cap. 84.

Schisme (as rather enclining to the Emperours, then to the Popes, when there was dissention betwixt them) had it not bene, that *Vincentius* in his *Historiale* had testified as much: where hauing spoken of the abuse of the keyes, he sayth, (with relation to *Gregorie*, and his next Successour but one, *Vrbanius*,) *Vt pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc sola nouitas (ne dicam hæresis) necdum è mundo emerferat, ut Sacerdotes eius, qui dicit Regi, Apostata, & qui regnare facit hypocritam, propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quod malis Regibus nullam debeant subiectionem; & licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerant, nullam tamen debeant fidelitatem, nec periuri dicantur, qui contra Regem senserint, imò, qui Regi paru-erit pro Excommunicato habeatur, qui contra Regem fecerit, à noxâ iniustitia periurij absoluator.* That is, That I may speake it with the fauour of all good men; this meere neweltie (that I say not Heresie,) was not as yet sprung vp in the world, that his Priests, who saith vnto the king, Apostata, and who maketh the Hypocrite to reigne for the sinnes of the people, should teach subiects, that they owe no subiection vnto wicked kings; that albeit they haue taken an oath of fidelity vnto such a one, yet they are not bound in allegiance vnto him; and that such as shall take part against their king, may not be sayd to be periured: nay, that they who performe obedience vnto him, are to be held as excommunicated: and such as rebell against him, are to be acquitted from all guilt of the crime of periurie. Which report & testimony made by so worthy a Bishop aboue 350. yeeres since, this Examinee saith, hee may not impugne

impugne or dislike, though *Vincentius* receiveth it from *Sigebert*; this Examine no way approving the discrediting of ancient Catholicke Writers, vnder pretence of their fauour towards this Emperor or that Emperor; because it giueth occasion to some, to impeach many other worthy mens writings in like sort, vpon colour of their partialitie towards the Bishop of *Rome*. Besides, it is apparant, that some of the best and most sincere Catholicks were much troubled with that fact of *Gregorie*, there being then many, who plainly denied, that the Apostolicall See had authoritie to depose (as he did) *Henry* the Emperor, and to absolue his subiects from their oath of fidelitie vnto him: in so much as the Bishop of *Metz* writ vnto *Gregorie*, desiring him (being in great fauour with him) to assit and arme him with his reasons of such his proceedings with the Emperour, that he might be the better able thereby to withstand those, that spake against them.

*Gregorie 7.
Epist. 21. lib.
8. apud Severinum de Concilio.*

53 Furthermore this Examine (the premises considered) being againe mooued, for the full clearing of his sinceritie, to deliuer his minde concerning the point, which he said touched the quicke, *Sect 45.* viz. of the Popes so great an authoritie *in temporalibus*, in temporalities, as that he may, by any distinction whatsoever, deale with Emperors or kings, as is aforesaid: he desiring to see one of *Cardinall Bellarmine*s bookes *de Romano Pontifice*, did deliuer out of him, his this Examines iudgement, saying that he was verily

Sect. 35.

45.

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ly perswaded, as followeth, viz.

Bell. de Rom.
Pontif. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

That the Pope is not Lord of those possessions which Infidels hold: that Infidell Princes, are the true and supreme princes of their owne Kingdoms: that dominion is not founded in grace, or in faith: that S. Paul doeth bid vs to obey Ethnick Princes, for conscience sake: that wee were not bound to obey such Princes, if they were not true Princes: that Princes are not the Popes vicars: that the Pope would willingly, if hee could, giue the Kingdomes of Infidels vnto faithfull Princes: that it is a ridiculous conceit, to imagine, that God hath giuen to the Pope a right ouer all the kingdomes of the world, and not to haue giuen him at any time a faculty of vsing such a right: that Alexander 6. did not diuide the late new found world vnto the kings of Spaine and Portugall, to that end that they should haue gone thither, to haue subdued the Infidell kings of that new world, or to haue taken to themselues their kingdomes; but onely that they should haue procured preachers of Christian faith, to haue been sent thither, and to haue protected and defended both those preachers, and the Christians conuerted by them; and that withall hee the said Alexander might preuent the contentions and warres of other Christian princes, who would haue used traffique in those new regions.

Bell. ibidem
cap. 3.

54. That the Pope is not lord of the whole Christian world: that if hee were the lord of the whole Christian world iure diuino, the same would appeare in the Scriptures, or by some Apostolicall tradition: that in the Scriptures there is nothing, but that the keyes of the kingdome of heauen are giuen to the Pope, without any mention

mention of the keyes of the kingdome of the world: that none doeth pretend any Apostolicall tradition to that purpose: that Christ neither did, nor doeth take kingdoms from those, to whom they doe appertain: that Christ came not to destroy those things that were well settled, but to make them more perfect: that when the king becommeth a Christian, he doeth not lose his earthly kingdome, which by law he had before, but obtaineth thereby a new interest to the kingdome of heauen; otherwise the benefite of Christ should be hurtfull to kings, and grace should destroy nature: that it is no true assertion, to say that the Pope hath both powers, but comitteth the execution of one of them unto others: that what authoritie soeuer the Emperours haue, they haue it from Christ: that if the Pope, as being the supreme King and Emperour, might take from kings the execution of their regall authoritie, hee were greater then Christ: that although Innocentius doeth compare the Pope to the Sunne, and the Emperour to the Moone, yet it is to be obserued, that the Sunne and the Moone are not one Starre; that as the Sunne doeth not make the Moone, but God; so the Popedome and the Empire are not one, nor doe depend the one upon the other: that although the Pope alone, hath full authoritie in the temporalties belonging to the Patrimonie of the Church, yet in other Regions he hath not so.

55 That the Pope iure diuino, by the diuine Law *Idem ibidem* hath no temporall dominion directly of any one place: *cap. 4.* that Christ as he was man, whiles hee liued upon the earth, did not, nor would receiue any temporall dominion: that the Pope is Christs vicar, and doeth represent

him vnto vs, as he liued here amongst men: that therefore, as he is Christs vicar and the highest Bishop, hee hath no temporall dominion: that it proceedeth from a false principle to say, that the Pope, who is Christs vicar, is both a temporall king and a Priest: that Christ was alwayes the sonne of God, the king and Lord of all creatures, as God the Father is; but this kingdome is eternall and diuine, and doeth not take away the Dominions of men, nor agreeth to the Pope: that Christ as man, is the spirituall king of all men, and hath a most ample spirituall power ouer all, as well faithfull as Infidels: that this spirituall kingdome of Christ, after the day of iudgment, shall be sensible and manifest; and that the glory of this kingdome was begun in Christ our head, quando à mortuis resurrexit, when hee arose from the dead: that this Spirituall kingdome is not a temporall Kingdome, such as kings enioy, nor can be communicated to the Pope, because this spirituall kingdome, presupposeth the resurrection: that Christ as man, might if he would, or had thought it expedient, haue taken to himselfe a Regall authoritie, but hee would not; and therefore did neither receiue, nor haue either the execution or authoritie or power of any temporall Dominion, or kingdome: that all kingdomes are gotten, either by succession, or by election, or by the sword, or by gift; but Christ had no temporall kingdome by any of these meanes: that Christ did neuer execute any Regall authoritie in the world: that Christ came to minister, not to be ministred vnto, to be iudged, not to iudge: that hee should haue receiued such a Regall authoritie in vaine, hauing neuer any vse of it: it being a vaine power,

power, quæ nunquam redigitur in actum, which is neuer brought into act: that Christ did not cast out of the Temple the buyers and sellers of Oxen and Sheepe, by any Pontificall or Regall power, sed more Prophetarum, zelo quodam diuino: but after the maner of the Prophets by a certaine diuine zeale: that kingly authoritie was not necessarie for Christ, nor profitable, but plainely superfluous and vnprofitable: that the ende of Christs comming into the world, was the redemption of mankind, to which end, spirituall power was onely necessarie, and not temporall: that that power meere-ly temporall was vnprofitable for Christ, is apparant, because he was to perswade men to contempt of glory, delicacies, riches, and of all temporall things, where-with kings of this world doe most abound: that all the places almost of Scriptures, which speake of the kingdome of Christ, must needes be understood of his spirituall and eternall kingdome, but temporall kingdomes are not eternall: that Christ was not a temporall king of the Iewes, but a spirituall king of the Church: that although the Pope is said to haue that office, which Christ himselfe enioyed, when he was among men; yet those offices cannot be ascribed to the Pope, which Christ had, as God, or as hee is now an immortall and glorious man, but onely those (and yet not all of them) which he held as a mortall man: that Christ, because he was God and man, habuit quandam potestatem, quam dicunt excellentiam; had a certaine power of excellencie (as they call it) whereby he gouerned both faithfull and Infidels, whereas hee committed his sheepe onely, that is, the faithfull, to the Pope: that Christ, as hee was man,

had power to institute Sacraments, and worke miracles by his owne authoritie; which power the Pope hath not: that Christ could absolue men from their sinnes without Sacraments, which the Pope cannot doe: that Christ doeth communicate that power to the Pope, which might bee communicated puro homini, to a meere man; which was necessarie for the gouernement of the faithfull, so as without impediment, they might obtaine the kingdome of heauen.

Idem ibidem
cap. 5.

Nicol. Pap.
epist. ad Mi-
chael.

Idem ibidem
cap. 10.

Idem ibidem
cap. 9.

56 That these places and authorities: Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo & in terrâ, Marth. 8; All power is giuen vnto me in heauen and earth. Christus beato Petro vitæ æternæ clauigero, terreni simul, & cœlestis Imperij iura commisit: Christ committed to S. Peter the key-carier of eternall life, the rights, both of the terrene and celestiall Empire: Ecce duo gladij, Luc. 22. Beholde here are two swords, doe no way preiudice the former doctrine: that the Popes power to decide temporall suits and questions, Can. caus. 11. quest. 1. Quicumque litem, was granted vnto him by Theodosius, ex pietate, non ex debito, of deuotion not of duetie: that Christ, for the preservation of humilitie, ordeined, that the Pope should haue need of the Emperours defence in temporalibus, and that the Emperour also should need the Popes direction in spiritualibus, and that therefore he left the Empire to Tiberius, and bestowed the Popedome vpon Peter.

57 That as touching the temporall principalities (which they haue indeed) the same were giuen to the Bishops of Rome, and other Bishops, by godly men, such

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as Constantine, Charles the great, and Lewis his sonne, were: that although it were peradventure absolutely better, that the Bishops of Rome should onely intermeddle with spirituall matters, and kings with temporall; yet through the malice of time, experience teacheth it to be both profitable and necessarie, that as in the old Testament, the high Priests were long sine Imperio temporali, without a temporal government, and yet in those last times religion could not haue consisted and bene defended, except the high Priests had bin likewise kings, as in the time of the Maccabees; euen so it hath come to passe with the Church, that she, who in the beginning did need no temporall principalitie, doth now seeme to haue need thereof necessarily.

58. All the premisses being in this maner alledged out of Bellarmine, in effect word for word, by this Examinee, it was told him, that except he could be content, to open and enlarge himselfe further then after this sort, forasmuch as Bellarmine (notwithstanding all that this Examinee hath repeated out of him, for the expressing of his owne iudgement) doeth afterward clearely attribute such an *indirect* powre to the Pope *ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to things spirituall, as doth giue him authority, when he thinketh fit, to deale with Emperours and Kings, as if all the world were at his commandement (*directly* or *indirectly* it forceth not) for the eradicating of them, deposing of them, absolving their subiects from their obedience, and plotting against them by his firebrands and Assassins, as times and places may

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serue his turne (as it hath beene touched *Seēt. 35.* and *45.*) hee this Examine should leaue the matter worse then when hee began, and shew most manifestly, that when he tooke the oath of *Allegeance*, hee did dally and dissemble aboue measure, otherwise then became any dutiful subiect liuing, in a case so neerely concerning his Maiesty, and the State of the Kingdome.

59 Vnto this point this Examine for his answer saith, that he maketh no doubt, but that he hath sufficiently so opened his minde, and enlarged himselfe, as that there can bee no question of his sinceritie toward his Maiestie; in that hee hath twice, *Seēt. 4. & 47.* shewed his iudgement, touching the practise of the primitive Church, for the first three hundred yeres after Christ; likewise his vtter dislike of sundry assertions propounded vnto him, *Seēt. 49.* some whereof maintaine, contrary to *Tertullians* relation (how Christians stood then affected) that in those dayes, armes might lawfully haue beene borne against the Emperours, if the professors of the Name of Christ had beene able: and some, as touching sundry other vnfound and vncatholike matters in them contained, concerning the losse of Kingdomes, &c. vpon excommunications, *Seēt. 39.* and also his opinion of the time, when the deposing of Kings and absolving their subiects from their allegeance were first made adiuncts to excommunication for ought he hath read, *Seēt. 52.* But yet he is contented, as he saith, a little further
to

to enlarge himselfe, according to the motion propounded, and to that end affirmeth, that hee doeth concurre in iudgement with these authors following; and so, out of his pocket-notes set downe their words in this maner:

60 *Apostoli nihil vi gerebant, tantum utebantur gladio spiritus: neminem agebant in exilium; nullius inuadebant facultates. Hac omnia Erasmus non minus disertè, quàm verè: That is, The Apostles did nothing by force, they onely used the sword of the spirit; they draue no man into exile; they entered vpon no mans possessions. All this, saith Erasmus, no lesse elegantly, then truely, Costerus in fidei demonstrat. pag. 96.*

Si aliqui Reges cum populo se tradiderunt Romanis Pontificibus, ut traditur de Anglis, nihil ad nos. Non tamen opinor, quòd Angli vllò modo permitterent, Pontificem destituere suum Regem, & alium constituere: nunquam enim aliquem Romanorum Pontificum hoc facere permiserunt: That is, If any Kings with their people haue subiected themselves to the Bishoppes of Rome, as it is reported of the English, (but vntreuly, as this Examine hath before shewed) that toucheth not vs. And yet I doe not thinke, that the English would by any meanes permit the Pope to depose their King, and constitute another: for they neuer suffered any of the Bishops of Rome, so to doe. Iohan. Maior in 4. Sentent. distinct. 24. quæst. 3.

De ratione potestatis laica est, pœnam civilem posse infligere, ut sunt mors, exilium, bonorum priuatio, &c. sed nullam talem pœnam, ex institutione diuinâ, infligere

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gere potest Ecclesiastica potestas: imò nec incarcerare, ut plerisq; doctoribus placet, sed ad solam pœnam spiritualem extenditur, ut potè excommunicationem. Reliquæ autem pœnæ quibus utitur, ex iure purè positivo sunt: That is, It is of the nature of lay power, to be able to inflict ciuill punishments as are death, exile, losse of goods, &c. but the Ecclesiasticall power cannot by the diuine ordinance, impose any such punishment: nay not imprison, as the most Doctors doe hold; but is extended to spirituall punishment alone, as Excommunication. The other punishments which it useth, are meere out of positive Law. Iacobus. Almain. de Dominio naturali & ciuili, in vltima editione Gersonis. pag. 696.

61. Here this Examinat being tolde, that although he hath to some good purpose repeated, what he had formerly said, and a litle more enlarged himselfe then before; in that hee hath acknowledged, that what the Pope can doe, more then Excommunicate, he hath it *ex iure purè positivo*, meere by positive Law: yet considering, that he made no scruple, to shew his dislike of the opiniõ, touching the Popes pretended authoritie *in temporalibus directly*, in the 20. Sect: but seemed loath to deliuer his iudgement, concerning the other opinion of the Popes authoritie *in Temporalibus in ordine ad Spiritualia*, indirectly in order to things spiritual; it was further vrged against him, that if he be indeed of *Bellarmines* minde in the points by him cited out of his booke, it seemeth to be impossible, that he this Examinat, being a
graue

graue and learned man, should thinke, that that which *Bellarmino* hath said (vpon very weake and simple grounds God knoweth) for prooffe of the Popes *indirect* authority *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, is of sufficient force, and moment, to ouerthrow all that hee hath written before, in his second, third, fourth, and fifth Chapters of his said booke (one of them being countenanced, for offending too much, with the word *directe*, his arguments being in effect simple and absolute:) because it is most apparant to euery man, that will not wilfully hoodwinke himselfe, that hee the said *Bellarmino* hath giuen the Pope such a blow, and deadly wound, by many his so sound and substantiall arguments against his pretended *direct* authority, as all the courses, how indirect soeuer, that can be deuised by the finest wits, will neuer bee able to salue and cure it. And therefore this Examine was required very strictly, herein to expresse himselfe more clearely.

62 Whereupon this Examine saith, that he must indeed needs confesse and acknowledge, that he hath wished, with all his heart, that either Cardinall *Bellarmino* had not intermedled with that question of the Popes authoritie *in temporalibus indirectly*, or els that hee had bene able (if it haue any trueth in it) to haue handled it more pithily, and throughly: that the weakenes of his arguments for that point compared with the positions set downe by this Examine out of his said booke (as is aforesaid) hath bene an especiall
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cause (as he thinketh) why many of later times doe so earnestly labour to retell them; as foreseeing, that if the Popes authority *in temporalibus*, to depose Kings, &c. should stand vpon this point, viz. that he had it but *indirectly*, the same would be subiect to great hazard, considering the oppositions in these dayes to the Church of *Rome*: and that therefore, insomuch as the thing it selfe (viz. whether the Pope hath any authoritie at all to eradicate and depose Emperours and Kings for any cause) which is aimed at on both sides, as well by them who affirme, that he hath such an authoritie *directly*, as by those, who say hee hath it not *directly*, but *indirectly*, is notwithstanding left as yet vndetermined by the Church: hee this Examineate desireth, that hee may not bee further vrged to interpose his opinion, otherwise then he hath done already, in matters of so great moment and difficultie.

63 This onely (as appertaining hereunto) he saith, that he is much grieued to see the Popes Supreme authority in causes Ecclesiasticall, so much entangled with these pretences of another supreme authority *in temporalibus*; to be held *directly* and *immediatly* of Christ, or *indirectly*, *per accidens*, and by a certaine consequence: as if otherwise Christ should not haue sufficiently provided for the necessitie of the Church, nor furnished the Pope with abilitie to discharge his duetie; considering that without these deuises, so much insisted vpon, though with very great vncertaintie

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(to the great indangering of the Popes vniuersall charge ouer all Churches *in Spiritualibus*) Saint Peter and his successors did sufficiently prouide for the necessitie of the Church, when the Emperors and ciuill Magistrates were vtter enemies vnto it, and sought by all the meanes that possibly they could deuise, to haue quite abolished and extinguished the name and memory of all Christianity.

64 This Examine being heere againe demanded, how hee can make it appeare, that the point aboue by him specified, is not as yet determined by the Church: saith, That hee is now from his bookes; but taketh the same to bee so euident, as he feared not, in his letter to Cardinall Bellarmine, to say, that this proposition, *scil. Papa habet potestatem deponendi Reges indirectè*: The Pope hath power indirectly to depose kings, was not yet defined, *tanquam res fidei formaliter*, as a matter of faith *formally*: and well remembreth that Conaruius in the second part of his booke of the last edition at Lyons, pag. 504. doth set downe the names of diuers worthy persons, that con- curre with him (this Examine) herein. Besides he saith, that this doth further appeare by Cardinall Allen: where he affirmeth, that this propo- sition or any other equiualent vnto it, viz. That the Pope hath power to excommunicate, or de- priue a Prince in case of heresie, or Apostasie, and consequently to absolue his subiects from their oath and obedience to him, is a meere matter of

Card. Allen a-
gainst Defence
of English lu-
stice. cap. 4.
pag. 72.

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Alamus ad
persecutor. An-
glos. fol. 326.

Diuinitie, if not defined (saith he) for vs, yet at the least disputable in schoole: or as it is in the Latin copie, *Est quidem planè Theologica, & cum religione Christianâ arctissimè coherens, de quâ si forsan non definitè pro parte nostrâ pronunciatum sit, posse tamen & solere Theologicis argumentis in utramq; partem disputari, ipsi quidem aduersarij, qui quicquam sciunt, ignorare non possunt.*

S. fl. 36.

65 Here it being obiected, that seeing (as it seemeth) it is not yet determined by the Church of Rome, either that the Pope is *Dominus temporalium*, directly, or only, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, indirectly, or that hee hath any such authority at all, whereabouts the authors of the two first opinions doe so hotly contend: and for that also he (this Examinee) hath professed before, that he was not bound to either of the said opinions, vpon any danger of declining from the Catholike Church, but would vse now his liberty, albeit in his letter to Cardinal Bellarmine he inclined to his side: and that therefore it seemed strange, why he is so loth to expresse his mind apparantly, and without any circumstances, what his sincere iudgement is, (without respect of any mens persons) as touching the Cardinals assertion for the Popes authority *in temporalibus, in ordine ad spiritualia*, in order to things spirituall; considering what dangerous consequences thereupon may ensue to his Maiestie and the State here: in respect whereof this Examinee, being eftsoones vrged, vpon his duetie towards God, and his Allegiance

Allegiance to his Maiestie, to deliuer his iudgement, touching this point, truely and sincerely: answereth, that because hee is still so pressed in his Maiesties name, and in his name also, who saith, *Ego sum Veritas*, I am the Trueth; to deale herein plainly and sincerely, and finding that otherwise, hee shall not be able, to giue such satisfaction, as hee thinketh in his conscience hee is bound to doe, hee answereth to the premisses, in maner as followeth; viz.

66 That it is true, that none of the said three points obiected, are as yet determined: that hee must of necessitie acknowledge it to bee subiect to some reasonable exceptions, why, before it be concluded, whether the Pope hath at all any authority to eradicate and depose Kings and Princes, &c. there is so earnest disputation of the manner, how he receiued it from Christ, whether *directly* or *indirectly*: that touching his former inclination to Cardinall Bellarmines opinion, forasmuch as the same is more generally receiued, hee held it his duetie not to dissent from him in apparance, it being the propertie of turbulent spirits, to quarrell at things conveniently settled for the good of the Church; and against the common rule, *Malum bene positum, non esse mouendum*; things subiect to some exceptions, are not alwaies to be ruffled in, especially when they may tend to the preiudice of Christian tranquillity; and that he would stil haue concealed his own iudgement to himselfe touching these points, had hee

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not been so greatly vrged (as in diuers parts of this his Examination it may appeare) to declare it.

67 That (as it were by the way, but very pertinent to this Examinates cause) forasmuch as by the premisses it is not onely euident, that the points contained in the Oath of Allegiance, are left as yet to bee disputed on *in utramque partem*, (as Cardinall *Allen* affirmeth) but is also as plaine and manifest, that when Cardinall *Bellarmino* writ to this Examinee, that *one of the chiefe heads of faith & foundations of Catholike Religion was brought into danger* by this Examinates taking of the said Oath: hee, the said Cardinall was vtterly mis-informed, as supposing the same to bee against the Popes *Supremacie* in causes Ecclesiastical; whereunto that Oath, (as before he hath said) had no manner of relation: for otherwise it is apparant, that his taking of that Oath, can no way endanger any head or foundation either of faith, or of Christian Religion; there being no such heads, or foundations yet agreed vpon or laide in that behalfe.

68 That therefore as he hath acknowledged his libertie (without danger of declining from the Catholicke Church) to expresse his iudgement, as well of this opinion so much vrged against him concerning the Popes authoritie *in temporalibus indirectè*, as he hath done before of the other, viz. that the Pope (as he thinketh) is not *Dominus temporalium, directè*; so this Examinee
nate

nate will now at the last vse that his libertie at this time, because hee doeth finde it to be as lawfull for him to refuse the one as the other : and doeth thereupon accordingly professe with all trueth and sinceritie, that (as he thinketh) neither of the said opinions is true: that what he this Examine hath before set downe at large out of Cardinall *Bellarmino*, he thinketh in his conscience is sound and Catholicke, and cannot be impeached either by the *Canonists*, and those their assistants, that lately haue taken their parts so eagerly, for the Popes *direct* power, or by the other side, who to the same end for his dealing with Emperours, Kings, and Princes, as is aforesaid, doe attribute the same vnto him, though *indirectly*: and that he is the bolder in this sort to declare his minde concerning the said two opposite opinions, because it is not yet defined (as hee hath said) by the Church, whether Christ hath left to the Pope any such authoritie at all, to eradicate and depose Emperours and Kings, as they contend for preposterously, in labouring (before it be resolved whether hee hath any such authoritie, or not) to perswademen in what maner the same was giuen vnto him, *directly* saith the one side, *indirectly* saith the other.

69 That hee verily supposeth, that Cardinall *Bellarmino*, being so worthy and eminent a man for iudgement and learning, hath not been so peremptorie in the handling of the two said points, whether the *Pope* hath the said furnished
autho.

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Bellar. lib. 5. de
Rom. Pont.
cap. 6.

authoritie directly or indirectly: but that hee hath left vnto himselfe some sufficient warrant and libertie, to varie (if there be occasion) in the said third point, viz. whether Christ gaue to S. Peter any such authoritie at all, or no. For whereas hee (the said Cardinall) doeth plainly affirme, that *Papa, vt Papa, ordinariè Temporales Principes depone-
re etiam iustâ de causâ non potest: tamen potest regna
mutare, & vni auferre, & alteri conferre tanquam
summus Princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad a-
nimarum salutem:* That is, The Pope cannot, as he is Pope, (though there be iust cause) by his ordinarie power depose ciuill Princes, yet as he is the supreme spiritual Prince he may translate Kingdomes, and take them from one, and conferre them vpon another, if need so require, for the sauing of soules: he saith in effect nothing else, though couertly, but that the Pope hath no power at all to depose Kings. For S. Peter neither did, nor could transferre any authoritie vnto his Successor, but *ordinarie*: for which cause it is commonly held, that the rest of the Apostles could not deriue the plenitude of their power to their successors, as S. Peter did, because the same in them was not *ordinary*, as in S. Peter, but extraordinary: *Extraordinaria enim potestas non transit in successorem.* For an extraordinarie power doeth not descend vnto the successors. And at this point this Examinee saith he did aime (as farre as he durst presume) in his letter to the Cardinall, where hauing cited his words abouesaid; *Non potest, Papa, vt Papa, &c.* hee writ after this sort:

sort : *Verba iuramenti sunt, Papam non habere auctoritatem deponendi Regem, & disponendi de regnis & dominijs Maiestatis suæ: Et communis intellectus apud Magistratum ad nullum alium conceptum propendet, quàm ad hunc, viz. Papam, vt Papa est. Nam non potest perungere ad illum conceptum, viz. tanquam summum Principem spiritualem. Et cum proponitur iuramentum suscipiendum, illius sensus, cognitus à Magistratu, restringitur ad ordinariam potestatem. Nam qui proponunt iuramentum, illi remotissimi sunt à cogitatione extraordinariæ aut indirectæ potestatis in Papâ residentis. That is, The words of the oath are, that the Pope hath not authoritie to depose the King, and to dispose of his kingdomes and Dominions: And the common understanding thereof doth with the Magistrate incline to no other conceite, but to this; viz. the Pope, as he is Pope: For it cannot reach unto that construction, viz. as he is the supreme spiritual Prince. And when the oath is exhibited to be taken, the sense thereof, apprehended by the Magistrate, is restrained unto an ordinarie power. For they that minister the oath, are as farre as may bee from the thought of any extraordinarie, or indirect power, residing in the Pope. Besides, it is apparant that the Pope is not otherwise the highest spiritual Prince but as hee is Pope, so as what he cannot doe as Pope, he cannot do as the chiefe spiritual Prince.*

And out of question *Carerius* hath gotten an advantage of the *Cardinall* by reason of his said former assertion: where he the said *Carerius* labour-
eth to prooue, that *Christi vicarius propriè dicitur,*

*Carer. de pot.
Rom. Pont.
lib. 2. ca. 8.*

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Papa,

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Papa, *Christs vicar is properly called*, the Pope : and doth presse it hardly to this effect ; that either the Pope is not Christs vicar, or else that hee doeth iudge *inferiores Potestates, vt Papa*, as he is Pope.

70 That the contents of the 39. 66. 68. and 69. Sections of this his Examination, being well weighed and considered, together with diuers other points by him set downe in the said Examination : his answer (this Examinat saith againe) to the Cardinals letter, touching the clause most excepted against, doeth reach as farre, as by the oath of Allegiance was intended. For whereas (saith this Examinee) if the Pope should haue any authoritie to depose and eradicate Kings, he hath it not by vertue of his power to Excommunicate, but must haue it of necessitie, either as he is supposed to be *Dominus in temporalibus directè*, the Lord of temporalities directly, or *Dominus in temporalibus indirectè*, the Lord of temporalities indirectly : and that Cardinall *Bellarmino* is peremptorie, that the Pope cannot depose kings by any *ordinarie* iurisdiction, that he hath, *as he is Pope* ; and *Carerius*, With all his vpholders on the other side, are as confident & resolute, that if the Pope hath not *ordinarie* authoritie, *as he is Pope*, to depose kings, he hath no such authoritie at all : for as much as what hee this Examinee hath before affirmed, how in his opinion (as hee saith) the Pope hath no authoritie to depose Kings, either as he is *Dominus in temporalibus* directly, or indirectly : the same is nothing else then what he
deposed

deposed vnto, when he sware, that in his conscience, the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, &c. And because also, that whether he should haue had authoritie to depose Kings or not, he must haue had it by some *imperiall* or *ciuill* authoritie, either as hee is *Dominus in Temporalibus* directly or indirectly: considering that to be *Dominus in temporalibus* in any of the said two respects, is to haue an *imperiall* and *ciuill* authoritie: hee this Examine saith, that these points well weighed, it is plaine, that when hee writ to the Cardinall: *Summum Pontificem non habere imperialem & ciuilem potestatem deponendi Regem nostrum*: that the Pope hath not an *imperiall* or *ciuill* power to depose our King: he told the Cardinall in effect as much, as if he had said vnto him, that the Pope hath no authoritie at all to depose his Maiestie.

71 That for the further clearing of his (this Examinates) relying vpon his Maiesties speeches in *Parliament*, when he tooke the oath of Allegiance, and his mentioning of it likewise to the Cardinall; he this Examine saith, that except it be thought a fault, to answer truely to a matter propounded, when he speaketh not all the truth, that doeth thereunto appertaine, (which were a strange conceit; the order neither of Schooles, nor of any iudiciall Courts in the world, binding any man to proceed further in his answer to any

question or interrogatorie, then the same doeth leade him :) hee this Examinee seeth not (hee sayth) what can be subiect to any iust reprehension, in his answer to the *Cardinals* letter, the substance thereof being grounded vpon this conceit, that he this Examinee, in taking the oath of Allegiance, had sworne against the Popes *supremacie* in causes Ecclesiasticall.

72 For answer vnto which erroneous conceit, hee this Examinee sayth, that when hee writ, that hee tooke the oath in this sense, viz. *That the Pope had no imperiall and ciuill authority to depose his Maiestie*, the same is true, whether it be attributed to the Pope, either *directly* or *indirectly*: also when he writ, *That the Pope had no imperiall and ciuill authoritie to depose the King at his pleasure, and vpon his appetite*; the same also is as euident, though the Pope had as great authoritie, as they pretend hee hath, who say he is *Dominus in Temporalibus* directly: that where hee this Examinee, hauing cited diuers authours to this effect, that the Pope hath authoritie indirectly *in ordine ad spiritualia*, did thereupon inferre, that the Pope could not depose his Maiestie, because if he should so doe, he should vse that his authoritie, *non ad spiritualia promouenda, sed euertenda*: not to the furtherance of spiritual matters, but to the ouerthrow of them; and therupon did adde, that he held nothing els therein, *quàm quod ubiq. Theologi in suas conclusiones compegerunt*, then what was generally concluded amongst Diuines: hee
said

said (as he thinketh) therein also truly, for that the comon opinion is, that the Pope hath no authoritie, *ad destructionem*, to destruction. So that albeit he might (as he saith) haue answered to euery point of the *Cardinals* letter more throughly, yet that which he writ, being sufficient to answer it: he thought it his best course to write, as he did.

73 It being heere againe objected, that notwithstanding he this Examine hath very well declared his iudgement, to any mans contentment, who is ignorant of the new deceitfull shifts of *equiuocation*: yet because Cardinall *Bellarmino* holdeth, that albeit the Pope cannot depose a king by his ordinary authority *directly*, as hee is Pope: he may neuerthelesse *mutare Regna & uni* Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 6. *auferre atque alteri conferre, tanquam summus Princeps spiritualis*, alter Kingdomes, and take them from one, and giue them to another, as he is the highest spirituall Prince, as hauing authority in *temporalibus*, in ordine ad *spiritualia*: forasmuch as yet it may well be doubted, whether he this Examine, when hee saith, that the Pope hath no *Imperiall* or *Ciwill* authority, nor any power in *temporalibus* either *directly* or *indirectly* to depose and eradicate kings, to absolue their subiects of their allegiance, or to authorize them to beare armes against them, hath not this, or some such like euasion, viz. that it may truely be affirmed, that the Pope hath no such authority, to bee termed properly either *Imperiall*, or *Ciwill*, because whether he hath it in *temporalibus* *directly*, or in-

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directly,

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directly, yet the authority in it selfe, being employed for the deposition of Kings &c. is to be named, according to the end, wherefore it is so vsed; which being for the good of the Church, (that is *spirituall*) the said authority is not to be called a *Temporall*, but a *Spirituall* authoritie; whereby all which hee this Examine hath hitherto said may be eluded, and made frustrate by this, or some such shift, viz: The Pope hath no *Imperiall*, and *Ciuill* authority to depose the king, that is, he cannot depose him by his *Ciuill* authority, as it is *Ciuill*, but as it is *Spirituall*: and againe to the same effect, the Pope hath no authority *in temporalibus*, either directly or indirectly, to depose kings; *verum est*, the authoritie which the Pope hath *in Temporalibus*, to depose kings, is to be termed *Ecclesiasticall* and not *Temporall*, as it is truly called; when Kings and Princes doe vse it to an end which is *Ciuill*: he this Examine was vrged to expedite this difficultie with some reasonable plainnesse and perspicuity.

74 Whereupon this Examine being grieved (as he professed) that nothing would be accepted in satisfaction of his duetie (as he feareth,) said, that assuredly there should be no defect in his sinceritie, howsoever the same might be wrested: and therefore to the said obiection briefly answereth, That although hee doeth acknowledge that there are some, who say, that when the Pope doth inflict *Temporall* punishments, for the better preservation of his *Spirituall* authority,

thority, *nulla dicetur uti Iurisdictione temporalis, sed merè spirituali, cum totum hoc ad animarum salutem, cœlestisq; regnum referatur*: he shall not therein be said to vse temporall Iurisdiction, but merely Spirituall, sith this whole action hath respect to the saluation of soules, and to the kingdome of heauen: yet because the most that write after this sort, doe qualifie their speeches therein, with a *quasi*, or *dici potest*, or *magis*, or *aliquo modo*; it is apparant that their meaning is not, that such a temporall authority vsed to a spirituall end, is in very deede, and in trueth a meere spirituall authority.

75. Besides, he this Examinat further addeth, that to his vnderstanding, the deposing of Kings, and the exciting of their subiects, to beare armes against him, will hardly be raunged amongst spirituall actions. In summe therefore this Examinee saith, that in his iudgement, the Popes spirituall authoritie ought not to be extended, beyond the power of the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and of the censures of the Church, properly so called: and that the Pope hath no authoritie at all *in temporalibus* either *directly* or *indirectly* to depose Kings, &c. by what name or title soeuer the said power, when he putteth it in practise *in ordine ad spiritualia* in order to things spirituall (as he the said Pope supposeth) may bee termed, whether spirituall or temporall; or whether the end hee aimeth at, by such his proceedings with any King or Prince, be spiritual or supernaturall, that

that is, bee pretended to bee vndertaken for the good of the Church, and promoting of Christiantie: the same in this Examinats iudgement (as hee saith) being neither Apostolicall, nor agreeable to the practise of the most worthy Bishops of *Rome* in the Primitiue Church, and for a long time after, nor auailable in truth to the Catholicke Church, but rather hurtfull, and great hinderances thereunto.

76 And here this Examinee further saith, that the premisses considered, viz: vpon what vncertainties the maintenance of the Popes authoritie, not to excommunicate, but to depose Princes, doth consist: hee confesseth that hee cannot chuse but acknowledge, that he much wondreth, and in that cogitation is also exceedingly grieved, that euer *Gregorie* the seuenth, or any Pope since did in their Excommunications of certaine Emperours, Kings and Princes, take vpon them in the same, to denounce them deposed from their kingdomes, to release their Subiects of the othes of their Allegiance, and to authorize them no longer to obey their Soueraignes, vnder paine of Excommunication: as also that many men, aswell Emperours, Kings, Princes, and their subiects haue thereby receiued great detriment; especially subiects, who haue spent their liues, as supposing the cause was iust, which they vnder-tooke, this in the meane while being indeed their case, that as what they did therein, was in truth wicked, and rebellious, so when either that,
which

which they took in hand had not good successe, or when afterwards the Pope and such Princes grew to an agreement, they were euer for the most part reputed (according to their deserts) for Rebels and Traitors, vnder pretence of something or other, that was amisse in their proceedings: and that therefore he hopeth, that in time all Catholickes will hereafter by other mens harmes learne to beware, and not bee drawen to any disobedience against their Soueraignes vnder any pretence whatsoeuer.

77 The authours of the late most wicked, and barbarous treason, commonly termed the *Gunpowder treason*, had (as this Examine verily thinketh) some intendment to haue aduanced thereby the Catholicke cause: for that his Maiestie did still persist in the same course, which was held by the late Queene his predecessor, or by what other inducements, this Examine knoweth not. Howbeit, as this was their iust reward here, that they were condemned, and executed for traitours; so doe they worthily reape amongst all discrete Catholikes and wise men abroad in other Countries, nothing but shame and infamy to the memorie of their owne names and posteritie: which this Examine wisheth from the bottome of his heart, may euer be the successe of all manner of persons whatsoeuer, that shall imagine, or seeke to contriue any hurt to his Maiestie, the Prince, or any other of his Highnesse posteritie, or to the present state of this kingdome, vnder a-

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ny colour or pretence of conscience, religion, fa-
 vour towards the Bishops of *Rome*, or any thing
 els whatsoeuer. Only this Examinat here addeth,
 that as he doth very well approue, that *Catesby*
 with his fellowes should bee chronicled for trai-
 tours by any or wheresoeuer: so he disliketh, that
 the said *Cristanovic* also, who is aboue named,
 should endeuour after a sort to qualifie their of-
 fence, by casting an vnttrue and shamefull scandall
 vpon this whole nation: where after a long dis-
 course to prooue, that English men haue from
 time to time conspired against their kings, not for
 religion, but in respect of their owne rebellious
 nature: he concludeth thus, with relation to the
 said *Gun-powder* traitors: *Causam tenes, lector, con-
 iurationum Anglicanarum, quarum furorem falso reli-
 gioni Catholica legislatores tribuunt*: that is, *Thus*
*(Reader) you haue the true cause of the English conspi-
 racies; the furie whereof their Law-makers doe falsly*
impute to the Catholique religion. And againe, *Non*
ergo Catholicum sed Anglicanum ingenium, Reges
Angliae non sinit securos esse: that is, *It is not therefore*
the Catholique, but the English humor, which will not
suffer the Kings of England to liue secure. For (as
 this Examine saith) what this fellow affirmeth
 of English men, may bee as well iustified of any
 nation in Christendome, if such a rash iudgement
 might be grounded vpon such like arguments as
 he hath vsed. But here this Examine remem-
 bring his drift, wisheth in his heart, that it might
 be neuer forgotten by any Catholiques, or other
 English.

*Stanisla. Cri-
 stanovic. exam.
 Cath. fol. 18.*

Ibidem.

English men whosoeuer, what guerdon, commendation, and infamous renowme they may iustly expect, that for any cause whatsoeuer (as is aforesaid) shall attempt any thing against their Soueraigne.

78 Thus farre this Examinee hauing opened his iudgement, vpon such occasions as were ministred vnto him: he vsed sundry speeches, how much it troubled him, that either his Maiestie, or the State should doubt of his sinceritie, and Allegiance, and therefore for a conclusion, and as it were to adde his seale, to all that before he hath said, he further affirmeth, viz:

That he doeth truely and sincerely, from the bottome of his heart acknowledge, professe, testifie and declare in his conscience before God and the world, that *King James* his Soueraigne lord, is *iure diuino*, and by the positieue lawes of this realme, lawfull and rightfull King of this realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions, and Countries, both *de facto*, and *de iure*: and that it was not lawfull, either for his Maiesties Subiects, to haue withstood him by force, from being their king, nor euer can be lawfull for them, now that he is their king, to rise vp against him, or seeke by any wayes or meanes to hurt him, either in his health, or in his regall estate; although he denieth the Popes supremacie in causes Ecclesiasticall, and seeketh (as he may) to suppress all those, that dissent from him in those points of Religion, which hee imbraceth: and though

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likewise they (his said subiects) being either Catholikes or Protestants, had sufficient numbers, forces, and ability so to doe, without any scandall to the Catholike cause, and without any danger to themselves either in their goods or liues.

79 That the Pope *iure diuino*, by the lawe of God, neither of himselfe, nor by any authority of the Church, or See of *Rome*, or by any other meanes with any other hath any power or authority, either *directly* or *indirectly*, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, (whether the said authoritie be termed *spiritual* or *temporall*, or mixt, or howsoeuer it is, or may be termed) to depose the King, or to dispose any of his Maiesties kingdomes or dominions, or to authorize any forreine Prince to inuade or annoy him, or his countreys: or to discharge any of his subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maiestie; or to giue license or leaue to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maiesties Roial person, State, or gouernment, or to any of his Maiesties subiects within his Maiesties dominions.

80 That he doeth also affirme from his heart, that notwithstanding any declaration, or Sentence of Excommunication, or deprivation made or graunted, or to be made or graunted by the Pope or his successours, or by any authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his See, against the said King, his heires, or successours, or any absolution of the said subiects from their obedience: hee will beare
faith

faith and true alleageance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successours, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of his power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoeuer, which shall bee made against his, or their persons, their crowne and dignitie, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, by reason or colour of any authoritie or power, ascribed to the Pope *in temporalibus*, directly or indirectly, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, whether the said authoritie be termed *spirituall* or *temporall*, or mixt, or howsoeuer it is, or may be termed, and will do his best endeauour to disclose and make known vnto his Maiestie, his Heires and Successours, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which hee shall know or heare of, to bee against him, or any of them.

81 That furthermore he doeth auow it from his heart, that hee doeth abhorre, detest and abiure, as impious and hereticall this damnable doctrine and position: that Princes which be excommunicated by the Pope, or are depriued by him of their kingdomes, by this pretended authoritie *in Temporalibus*, either directly or indirectly, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, (whether the said authoritie be termed *spirituall* or *temporall*, or mixt, or howsoeuer it is or may be termed) may be deposed or murdered by their subiects, or any other whatsoeuer, notwithstanding any commaundement, direction or aduise, directly or indirectly giuen to the contrary, by any manner of per-

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son whosoever, and notwithstanding any exposition, or declaration of the Popes *interpretative* will, that if any in zeale, by reason either of the said Excommunication, or deprivation, or of them both, wil either adventure to take vp armes against such a King, or to lay violent hands vpon his person, the Pope is bound by his office to approue it, because the same did tend to the execution of his Sentence, and to the promoting of the end, he aimed at.

82 That hee also doeth belecue, and is in his conscience resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolue him of this oath, or of any part thereof, whereby he might truely thinke himselfe discharged in any one point of his Allegiance before by him professed: and that therefore hee doeth renounce all Pardons and Dispensations in that behalfe.

83 And that lastly hee doeth plainly and sincerely acknowledge, as in the presence of God, and vpon his Allegiance to his Maiestie, that what hee this Examine hath deliuered, and is here set downe in this his Examination, the same doeth containe his true iudgement, so farre as his learning reacheth, without any equiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret reseruation whatsoever: and is to be vnderstood, according to the expresse words, as they are set downe, and according to the plaine and common sense and vnderstanding of the same.

84 But heere againe it being obiected, that albeit he this Examine hath very well discharged his duetie, as well in his expressing his iudgment, in the points aboue propounded vnto him (that of the Popes *Supremacie* in causes Ecclesiastical, & some other touches of certaine things, not appertaining to the oath of Alleageance excepted:) yet forasmuch as the same doeth depend vpon this vncertaintie, whether the Pope will define it, to bee a matter of faith, and accordingly then to be acknowledged by Popish Catholickes, that hee may depose Kings, and deale with their subiects, as is aforesaid; and that thereby his Maiestie, and all other Christian Kings and Princes (as their occasions fall out) shall still rest vnassured of the loyaltie of their subiects; and of their owne safeties: it was necessary, that hee this Examine should also cleare this point: for answere whereunto he saith as followeth.

85 That hee did not imagine any such matter would haue bene propounded vnto him because it is well knowen to all that bee learned, that no man can iudge before hand *de futuris contingentibus*, of future contingents, and therefore he desired that he might be forborne.

86 But hereunto this reply being made, that although there can bee no certaine iudgement *de futuris contingentibus*, *scilicet: contingent vel non contingent*: Whether they shall happen or not happen; yet of a certaine and determinate thing propounded, what might be thought of it, if it should happen,

88 *A large Examination*

pen, there may before hand a direct and sure iudgement be giuen: For example: it is *futurum contingens*, whether euer any King, and Parliament in ENGLAND will make a Statute to restore to the Pope his *Supremacie* here, as fully as euer he had it: and yet it is not to bee doubted, but that he this Examinat, if he were now asked, whether in his iudgement, such a Statute were lawfull and iust, or not, and might accordingly be put in execution: he would out of question answer before hand affirmatiuely: and euen so it being told this Examinee, that hee might doe in the case propounded; after some deliberation, thus he answered, viz:

87 That (as hee writ vnto the Cardinall) although it should be determined to be a point *fidei formaliter*, of faith *formally*, that the Pope might deale with Princes, as is aforesaid, and were accordingly so to be receiued *in thesi* in the generall position: yet this question propounded *in hypothesis*, by way of particular supposition *an Papa habeat potestatem deponendi Regem nostrum, rebus in eo statu, quo nunc sunt, permanentibus apud nos*, whether the Pope haue power to depose *our* King, matters continuing with vs in the state, wherein now they are: he this Examinat saith now, as he writ then, that the determination of this question, touching his Maiestie should only be of that, which is *fidei materialiter*, of faith materially: *quia esset determinatio de questione, qua in rebus creditis accidit, & proinde non diceretur determinatio de fide,*
sed

sed de tali materia: because it should bee the decision of a question which hapneth about things beleueed, and therefore is not to be said to bee a determination touching *Faith*, but concerning such or such a matter: wherein, because (as hee hath before obserued out of *Syluester*, and *Conarrubius*) the Pope may be deceiued; hee this Examiner saith, that in his iudgment, let them define at *Rome*, what they list in this matter; yet if the same should be offered to be practised against his Maiestie, it ought not to bee entertained, receiued, or obeyed by any of his Maiesties subiects, the same tending not to *edification*, but to *destruction*.

VE 88 Against this answere such exceptions being taken, as are before set downe: after some further enforcing of them with many circumstances, and repetitions of sundry points, by him before acknowledged: hee was at the last content further to enlarge himselfe in maner hereafter ensuing: affirming: viz:

That in his iudgement, the Pope will neuer determine it to bee a matter of faith; for Catholickes to beleue, that hee hath authoritie to depose Emperours, or Kings, to absolve their subiects from their Allegiance, and to authorize them, either to disobey them, or to beare armes against them: because hitherto, when it might haue beene better done, and with lesse scandall, and inconuenience, it hath not beene so defined; norwithstanding that the Popes themselues in

their owne persons, and the citie of *Rome* it selfe haue bene in greater danger and perill, then they now are: and this Examiner is fully resolved, that the present Pope, and the Cardinals his assistants are as graue, wise, and prouident now, to foresee what euill, and inconuenience might grow to the Church by such a resolution, as euen any of their predecessors were in times past.

§ 9 That he is fully perswaded, that as it doth tend to the expressing of the supereminent excellencie of the iustice of God, to say, that he cannot doe any thing, that is vniust; and of the great honour and dignitie of Kings and Princes, to affirme of them, that *Reges non possunt esse serui*: So ueraignes cannot bee vassals: so it doth no way derogate from the high dignitie and calling of the Bishop of *Rome*, but rather doth greatly aduaunce it, to say, that because hee cannot erre, there are therefore many things which hee cannot doe. For example, euen in the point questioned, as the Pope cannot determine it to be lawfull, vnder any pretence whatsoeuer, for a man to commit adultery with his neighbours wife: no more can he determine it to bee lawfull vnder any pretence whatsoeuer, for any of his Maiesties subjects to beare armes against him; both of them being against the morall law of God, which the Gospel doeth in no one point preiudice. Nor as he cannot by any determination or resolution, vpon any pretence whatsoeuer, make a sonne to bee no sonne, during the life of his father: no more can
he

he make the borne subiect of any king, not to be his subiect, so long as the king liueth.

90 That he is also altogether of this opinion, that whereas the defining of the Popes said vndetermined authoritie to depose kings &c. standing vpon this issue, that either he hath indeede no such authoritie at all, or else, that he hath it, as being *dominus temporalium directè*, the lord of temporall things *directly*, or as *dominus temporalium, in ordine ad spiritualia indirectè*, the lord of temporall things, in an order vnto spirituall things *indirectly*; forasmuch as such a determination must of necessity include the condemnation of the opinion either of Cardinall Bellarmine, and of that strong side that taketh his part (which may breede some further trouble,) or of Cardinall Baronius, and those that ioine with him, being many and increasing dayly more and more, with great confidency, that they haue the trueth, (which no doubt will bee found inconuenient, considering that their positions doe much more tend to the honour of the Church of Rome, then those that are mainteined, as peremptorily by the other side:) he this Examinee is of this opinion (as he saith) that there will neuer be any such determination, as hath bene obiected, or at least, that it will not bee for many yeeres yet to come, whilest there is so strong opposition, concerning the manner, how and in what sort Christ gaue Saint Peter that authority (if he gaue it him at all) viz.: whether *directly*, or *indirectly*, immediatly,

or by a certaine consequence: except it may bee held to be sufficient (leaving both the sides mentioned contending amongst themselves) without any certaine grounds, firme reasons, impregnable testimonies either of Scriptures or Ancient Fathers, first agreed vpon by the Church and concluded, so to define, as is imagined: which this Examine is fully assured, the Pope and Cardinals, being men of such excellencie and wisdome, will neuer attempt.

¶ 91 That although it may peradventure bee confidently giuen out (as it hath bene vntreuely by many already) that the Pope to haue authoritie to depose kings &c. is defined at *Rome*, to be held as a point of faith; thereby still to keepe on foote the ancient opinion since *Gregorie* the sequents time of the Popes authoritie in that behalfe, for the good of Christian kings and Princes, that they might be the rather induced to continue in some awe and feare, if they did not their duties belonging to Christianitie: yet hee this Examine thinketh it very necessary, that no Catholicke should giue any faith to that report, except he may see the same authentically so confirmed and euident, as the Canon lawes in a case of such importance doe require: which this Examine is fully perswaded, they shall neuer see: or that if any such thing should happen to fall out, this Examine is verily perswaded, it will not bee a generall resolution, touching the Popes authoritie to depose kings &c: but onely to the
point

point in question nowe amongst Catholickes here in England, that it is not lawfull to take the said oath of *Allegiance*, and then the Examine further saith, that the same will bee built upon this false ground, that the oath of *Allegiance* doeth include the oath against the Popes *supremacie* in causes Ecclesiasticall, as he foresaith already by the Cardinals letter vnto him, and by the said *Cristianovic*, who hauing set down the said oath at large, writeth thus: *Quod iuramentum? De Primatu Regis in spiritualibus*. And what oath? Of the kings Supremacy in causes spiritual; & that therefore if any such resolution come authentically, as is aforesaid, the same (as all Catholickes are to iudge of the Popes sinterinie) being procured by surreption, and false suggestions *ad destructionem*, to destruction, no Catholicke is bound to be ouer-ruled by it, but the same notwithstanding, euery Catholicke may safely and lawfully take the saide oath of *Allegiance*, if according to the Statute in that behalfe made, hee be required so to doe.

¶ 92. That, also whatsoeuer may fall out at Rome, either touching the said oath of *Allegiance*, or the Popes authoritie *in temporalibus*, without any mention of it therein, whether he hath it directly or indirectly, the same will not be more amply set out and declared, then it was before by Boniface the 8. where he writeth in this sort: *In hac eiusdem potestate duos esse gladios, spirituales viz: & temporalem, Euangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicen-*

Bonifat. de maior. & obedientia, vnam sanctam.

ribus Apostolis: Ecce duo gladij hic; (in Ecclesia
 scil: cum Apostoli loquerentur) non respondit Domi-
 nus, nimis est, sed satis. Certè qui in potestate Petri
 temporalem gladium esse negat, male verbum attendit
 Domini proferentis: Conuertere gladium tuum in
 vaginam. Vterq; ergo est in potestate Ecclesie, spiri-
 tualis scil: & materialis: That is, We are warranted by
 the words of the Gospel, that in his power were two
 swords; the one spirituall, the other temporall. For
 when the Apostles saide, Beholde, here are two
 swords, (meaning in the Church, sub the Apostles
 spake it) Christ replied not, it is too much, but it is e-
 nough. Assuredly, whosoever denieth, that the tempo-
 rall sword is in S. Peters power, he doth not wel marke
 the speech of Christ, saying, Put vp thy sword into
 the sheath: Therefore both swords are in the power of
 the Church, as well the temporall as the spirituall.
 And a little after: *Veritate testante, spiritualis po-
 testas terrena instituire habet, & indicare.* That
 is, Truth it selfe testifying, that the spirituall
 power is to order and to iudge earthly affaires;
 according to the prophet *Jeremies* words: *Ego
 constitui te hodie super gentes, & regna, & cetera, qua
 sequantur.* I haue set thee this day ouer nations
 and kingdomes, &c: All which particulars not-
 withstanding, for the setting out of that Consti-
 tution, purposely made against the king of
 France; *Clemens* the fift shortly after made ano-
 ther constitution to the impeachment of the for-
 mer; wherein he writeth thus: *Nos Regi & regno
 per definitionem & declarationem bona memoria Bo-
 nifacij*

nificē Pape & predecessoris nostri, quæ incipit, Vnam
 Sanctam, nullum volumus, vel intendimus præiudici-
 um generari: nec quod per illam Rex, regnum, & reg-
 nicola prælibati; amplius Ecclesia sunt subiecti Roma-
 na, quam antea existebant. Sed omnia intelligantur in
 eodem esse statu, quo erant ante definitionem præfatam:
 That is, Wee will not, neither is it our purpose, that
 any prejudice come vnto the King or the kingdom by
 that definitive sentence and declaration of Pope Bo-
 niface the 8. of worthy memorie, our predecessor,
 beginning thus, Vnam Sanctam: nor that by force
 thereof, the King, the kingdom, and people aforesaid
 should be subiect to the Church of Rome, more than for-
 merly they were: But that all things be understood, to
 be in the very same state, as they were before the aforesaid
 said definitive sentence was giuen.

93 Moreover also this Examine saith to the
 same purpose next before spoken of, that besides
 the said Clement, diuers other men of meanes cal-
 ling, haue bene bold to refell some of the argu-
 ments, whereupon the said Constitution was
 built; as Cardinall Bellarmine, that of the two
 swords: and diuers moe, though this Examine
 cannot now set down their words: only he saith,
 he is well assured, that Hugo Cardinali doeth make
 a better exposition (to this Examine's vnder-
 standing) of the said place of Ieremie, then Boni-
 face did: So as if it happen, that the present
 Pope doe make any resolution against the said
 oath of Allegiance, besides the exceptions ta-
 ken before vnto it by this Examine, he further
 addeth

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addeth how it may well come to passe, that the next Pope will alter it: and that in the meane time, it may be as lawfull, for graue and learned Catholickes, to take exceptions vnto it, as it hath beene for any other, to impeach the said *Constitution* of Boniface, or any part thereof. But this Examineate doeth well hope, that the present Pope in his great wisdom will preuent this course, and approoue the graue iudgement of Petrus de Alliaco Cardinall of Cambray, who in his Treatise of the Reformation of the Church of Rome, offered to the Councell of Constance, begun Anno 1414. doeth write in this sort: *In hoc non debet Papa, aut eius Curia, &c.* Herein (as touching the Reformation of the body of the whole Church, and of the particular Church of Rome) the Pope or his Consistorie, ought not to reiect the deliberation of a generall Councell, because, as the glosse 19. distinct. super cap. Anastasius saith, the Pope is bound to require a Councell of Bishops, when any point of faith is to be handled: *quod non solum intelligo, &c.* which I doe not onely vnderstand, of the Articles of faith, but of difficult matters, that touch the vniuersall state of the faithfull Church: which Archidiaconus 19. dist. c. Sicut. moeth, where approving the said glosse, he addeth: *quod nimis periculosum esset fidem nostram committere arbitrio vnius hominis: that it were too dangerous a matter to commit our faith to the arbitrement of one man: and that therefore the Pope in new and hard cases was accustomed to haue recourse to the deliberation of a Councell.* That it is a matter of great

Pet. de Alliaco
de reform. Ro-
ma. ecclesia.

great difficultie and importance, and such, as doeth very greatly concerne the whole Church, whether the Pope will hold it fit to determine either generally, that he hath no authoritie in *spiritualibus*, or particularly, that it is not lawfull for Catholickes in England to take the said oath of *Allegiance*; this Examine is out of doubt; and is therefore so farre of the said *Cardinals* minde, that neither of the said points are to be discussed and concluded, without some great and mature deliberation.

94 This Examine being here demaunded, whether he had seene a Booke lately come forth, intituled, *A Treatise tending to mitigation towards Catholicke Subiects in England*, and amongst diuers things in it, whether hee had considered of certaine words vsed by the Earle of Salisburie, as they are set downe in the Preface of the said Treatise, and of the Authour of that Booke his answer vnto them: he confesseth in euery particular, that he hath. The Earles words are there cited thus: *that hee hath beene a long time sorie, that some cleare explication of the Papall authoritie hath not beene made, by some publike and definitiue sentence Orthodoxall, &c. that not onely those Princes, which doe acknowledge this authoritie (meaning the Popes) might be secured from feares and ielousies of continuall Treasons, and bloody assassines against their persons: but those Kings also, which doe not approoue the same, and yet would faine reserve a charitable opinion of their Subiects, might know how farre to repose themselves in their*

P.R. his treatise tending to mitigation.
Prefat. pag. 20

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their fidelitie, in ciuill obedience, howsoeuer they seeme diuided from them, in point of conscience.

95 These words hauing bene in this sort laide before this Examinee, after he had well marked both them, and the answere vnto them: hee was with some difficultie at the last induced to deliuer his iudgement, as touching the said answere, saying: that hee liked very well of the first and third part thereof, as touching the Popes authoritie, so farre forth as it concerneth his power and charge, to looke to all Christs sheepe, without exception of great or small, people or Potentates, not onely for their instruction and direction *in spiritualibus*, but likewise, (if neede require) for their spirituall castigation, by the censures of the Church, interdiction and Excommunication, not to bee decreed or published without iust cause, graue and vrgent motiues, and due forme also of proceeding, by admonition, preuention, intercession, and other like preambles, prescribed by Ecclesiasticall Canons to be obserued.

96 But as touching the second part of his answere, this Examinee doubteth, how it may either satisfie the said Earle, or any other, that is of sound iudgement. For whereas the said authour saith, that although there be a question betwixt the *Canonists*, and the Catholicke diuines, whether the Pope haue such an authoritie *in temporalibus, directly or indirectly*, as by them is disputed of, and by this authour is briefly touched: yet both parts doe fully agree, that there is such an autho-

authoritie left by Christ in his Church, for remedie of vrgent causes: for that otherwise he should not haue sufficiently prouided for the necessitie thereof: hee this Examine doeth see, and acknowledge the trueth and importance of the iust exceptions that are alreadie and may hereafter peraduenture be taken to that answer.

97 For where the Earle of Salisburie wished some cleare explication of the Popes authoritie by some publicke and definitiue sentence: the said authours answer is insufficient, When hee saith, that both parts, viz: the one defending the Popes authoritie *directly*, and the other *indirectly*, were fully agreed for the said authoritie, &c. but onely differed about the manner, how and in what sort it was giuen vnto him by Christ: which wordes might seeme to import as much as the Earle desired, whereas in deede the authoritie which this authour saith, both parts are agreed vpon, is not yet determined. For Cardinall Bellarmine and his side are fully resolved, that the Pope hath no such authoritie *directly*, and that consequently he must either haue it *indirectly*, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, or not at all: and *è contra* the authours, who oppose themselues to that opinion, are as confident, that he hath no authoritie *in temporalibus*, except hee haue it *directly*: so as how can it be said they are agreed, when both sides are so peremptorie, that he hath no such authoritie at all, except he haue it, saith the one side, *directly*, saith the other side, *indirectly*? And for his further answer hercunto,

Bellar. de Rom.
Pont. lib. 5.
cap. 4.

Cacer. de au-
thoriz. Rom.
Pont. lib. 2.
cap. 5. & 8.

he referreth himselfe to that which before hee hath set downe in the 63, 68, 69, 76, 88, 90, and 91 Sections.

98 As it was obserued in the 42. Section: that all princes for denying the Popes supremacie, though otherwise they professe the Gospell, are tearmed heretickes by the Romish Catholickes: so although they liue neuer so orderly according to their lawes, without inflicting any other punishments vpon offenders, then are agreed vpon by the Common-wealth, they are accounted *tyrants*, if for the repressing of Popish errours, they doe at some times giue way to the execution of such Lawes, as are made against them. And none are more violent herein, then such as were borne and bred vp amongst vs in *England*, as *Stapleton*, and *William Raynolds*, (if they were the authors of the two bookes, intituled *De iusta abdicatione Henric. 3.* and, *De iusta Reipub. Christiana in Reges impios, & hereticos auctoritate:*) who affirme, that all power at this day, which is auerse from religion, (meaning the Romish religion) is *tyrannie*, and that they are *tyrants*, that doe vse their kingly power, to the imposing vpon their Subiects of that faith, which they terme hereticall: and for example of such *tyrants*, one of them alledgeth *K. Henry the 8. Edward the 6. and Queene Elizabeth.* The consequences of which assertions are, as well in their opinions, as in the opinion of many other, that are of that sect, that euery such *tyrant* may be depriued of his kingdome, and (if neede be)

De iusta abdic.
pag. 11.
Rossius pag
106.

Idem pag. 157.

be) murdered by his Subiects, yea by euery priuate man, if hee haue fit opportunitie, after that he is declared by the Common-wealth, as some say, to be a *tyrant*, or by the Pope, as others affirme. Whereby all kings and princes, that mislike the Popes tyrannie, and sundrie his corruptions, are by him and his priests infinitely dishonoured, and no one way more, then by inciting their subiects to rebellion, vnder pretence of religion, which ought to be the surest band of duety and obedience. In consideration whereof, it being told this Examinee, that it was all one to his Maiestie, whether (by the Popes doctrine) hee were to be deposed from his Crowne, vnder either of these false pretences, that he is an hereticke, or that he is a tyrant, and that thereby his Subiects are no longer to obey him, but may beare armes against him, and offer violence vnto his sacred person, as well in the one case as in the other: and that therefore it stood him in hand, seeing he professeth himselfe to be a true subiect, to deliuer himselfe from these traiterous conceits: he the said Examinee answered as followeth, saying:

99 That in his iudgement, if it be true (as this Examinee beleueth it is) that the Pope hath no authoritie by any Sentence whatsoever, to depose a King for *heresie* (as before he hath at large declared) nor to absolue his subiects from their Allegiance: it is also as true *a fortiori*, that hee hath no authoritie by any Sentence or iudgment

whatsoever, so to determine any king to be a *tyrant*, as that thereby his right to his kingdome, should in any sort be impeached, or his subiects set at liberty to rebell against him, or to offer any hurt vnto his person.

100 That he knoweth, what diuers haue written as touching *tyrants*, wherewith hee saith, it is impertinent for him now to intermeddle: affirming notwithstanding, that (in his iudgement) no king, who in the course of his gouernement doth obserue the lawes, established in his kingdome, and doth not otherwise afflict his subiects, either by violence, rapine, crueltie, impositions, exactions, or by any other vnlawfull meanes, but (as he is bound) giueth way to the execution of his lawes, and onely vseth the ancient prerogative of his Crowne, can in any true construction be rightly iudged a *tyrant*, though some of his said lawes, doe tend to the punishment of Catholickes, and to the maintenance of the religion, which he professeth: diuers Emperours being in their times notable gouernours, and promoters of their Empire, to the great good of their subiects in temporall causes, though otherwise they were great enemies to Christianitie.

101 That no King, who commeth to his Crowne by succession, as being the right heire thereof, may lawfully, vnder any pretence of *tyrannie*, bee deposed, or resisted by his subiects, either iointly assembled together, or otherwise by any secret machinations or treacheries of manie,

nie, few, or of any one : and that as touching this point, either of iudging a king to be a *tyrant*, or dealing with him thereupon, as is before mentioned, he is altogether of Master *Blackwood* his opinion : Who writing against sundry traiterous positions of *Buchanans*, tending to the effect before objected, doth proue very sufficiently these points that ensue, viz :

102 That no subiects can arrogate to themselves *Blackwood* any part of Regall authority without committing of *Apolog pro Regibus. pag. 56.* treason, except the same bee delegated unto them by the King : and that then also, they are to vse the same authority, no otherwise then in such sort, and so long, as the King doeth willingly permit them : That our Kings here in this land are no way obliged to the people for their kingdome, but haue all their power and Empire from God, and are ouely bound to giue an account to him of the discharge of their office and duetie, their kingdomes belonging to them iure hæreditario, by right of inheritance, so as no sooner *Pag. 106.* is one King dead, but the next heire is actually king : no ceremonie or Coronation, or other circumstances adding more to his right, then hee had before : That the Oath it selfe which they take at their Coronation, being made to God, and not to the people, doeth not *Pag. 178.* any way empeach the interest they haue iure sanguinis, by their birth. *Pag. 121.* *Pag. 124.*

103 That, forasmuch as the kings subiects, his *Pag. 111. &c.* Clergie, Nobles, and Commons cannot assemble together in Parliament, without the kings Writte, under paine of treason by the olde lawes, nor when they are come

come together, determine any matter, or make any Lawes without the Kings Royall assent, nor continue any longer together after the King doeth dismisse them: it is apparant, that they haue no authoritie either to iudge the king a tyrant, or to remooue him: and that much lesse any priuate persons, his naturall borne subiects, haue authority to rise vp against him, whatsoeuer may bee pretended, vnder any colour, cause, or glosse whatsoeuer:

Pag. 113.

That amongst the three orders, which deposed the late Queene of Scotland, there were scarce any, but three thecues, thrde traitours to their countrey, and three murderers, with their abettors: resembling the three-formed monster, with the lions head, breathing out fire, the belly of a goate, and the taile of a dragon.

104 Whereunto this Examinee addeth out of the said M. Blackwood, that which hee himselfe hath set downe before in effect in the beginning of his Examination, and may wel serue for a Theologicall conclusion of this point: *Quotquot in-*
stituto Christi vixerunt, &c. As many as since Christs time haue lined according to his institution, did neuer decline the gouernement of Tyrants, and much lesse did resist them by force: they followed therein their Prince (Christ himselfe) who although hee could haue withstood the iniuries of the people, of the high Priest, and of Pilate the lieutenant, with many legions of Angels: yet hee yeelded himselfe to death, that hee might thereby confirme that which he had taught in his life time, viz. that an iniurie is to be borne gently and mildely, and not by force to be repelled. And againe,

Pag. 141.

Pag. 142.

Paulus

Paulus simulatq. &c. As soone as Paul became a Christian souldier, his seditious and bloody spirit being changed into the desire of peace and quietnes, he honoured Agrippa, Fœlix, and Lysias the Roman Proconsuls, in respect of their offices; *ut doctrinam suam exemplo vitę sanciret*, that he might ratifie his doctrine, by his example of life. To this purpose this Examinee saith he could alledge much more, in his desire to shew the freedome of his iudgement from such mens imaginations, as are named in this objection: but the remembring onely of *Catharinus* vpon the 13. to the *Romanes*, together with the premisses, may (as he hopeth) giue sufficient contentment.

105 Whereas this Examinee speaking of the Popes authority *in temporalibus*, indirectly, Sect. 63. did adde these other equivalent phrases to the word *indirectly*, viz. *per accidens*, and by a certaine consequence, but refused to insert there the word *casualiter*, and vpon some other occasions did let fall from him, that the Pope had no *inherent* authoritie *in temporalibus*, either directly, or indirectly *in ordine ad spiritualia*, or *per accidens*, or by any consequence, but that which he had, he had it *casually*: forasmuch as this word *casually* may so be understood, as that it may quite dash and overthrowe all that formerly hath been said by this Examinee for the clearing of his Allegiance to his Maiestie, he was straightly vrged, to open this mystery sincerely and truly. Theeues haue no ordinary power to spoile houses, that are well
noil O guarded,

guarded, or rob men by the highway side, who are strongly accompanied, but they haue oftentimes *casualty* power to doe both; as when they finde either houses weakely provided for, or men in their iourneys not sufficiently furnished. And it was told this Examinee, that hee might haue the like euasion in behalfe of the Pope, that then hee hath authority to depose kings, and deale with them, as in the Oath of Allegiance is provided for to be preuented, when hee may haue power so to doe *casually*, that is, when he may either by his owne forces, or by the forces of any other, or by any practises of his agents, secretly, or by any hap, or *casualty*, when kings least suspect it, or are altogether vnprovided to resist it, that then he may work or procure their vtter ruine and destruction. Which were to make the Pope the scholer of *Machiavel*, taking vpon him at some times to play the lion, and at other times to become a foxe, alwayes practising mischieuoussly against those Kings that offend him, as *casually* he might be able to effect his designements, by praying vpon them or deuouring them.

106 Whereunto this Examinee answering saith, God forbid, God forbid, that euer he should haue such an imagination against his Maiestie, or that euer he should haue intended, by the word *casualiter*, to haue sought for such an euasion, as aboue is pretended: and besides hopeth, that the Pope will neuer giue occasion for any of his Maiesties subjects, to resemble him either to a
lion,

lion, or to a foxe; which this Examinee saith, vpon the occasion giuen, hee could not omit to obserue. But being heere pressed to come to the point, as touching this word *casualiter*; after some long debatement of sundry particulars thereunto appertaining, which will appeare by his answers, he saith as followeth:

107 That hee must indeed confesse, the word *casualiter* to bee diuersly vsed by sundry writers; and that some doe take it in that sense, which might iustly beget the former obiection and collections. They which hold, that the Pope is the Lord of all temporalities throughout the world *directly*, doe affirme: that such his authoritie and iurisdiction is as really and actually inhering in his person, being Christs Vicar, as is his supremacy in causes Ecclesiasticall: but yet the practise of it, they hold is but *casuall*, out of *S. Peters* patrimony. And on the other side, as they which maintaine, that the Pope hath no authoritie *in temporalibus directly*, but *indirectly, in ordine ad spiritualia*, amongst other phrases, which they haue to expresse their minds, besides *indirectly, per accidens*, and by a certaine consequence, they likewise say, that he hath it *incidently, secundum quid, secundario, per consecutionem*, and *accessorie*: so when they speake of the practise of that authoritie out of the bounds of *S. Peters* patrimony, they doe also vse the word *casualiter*. For the better manifestation of which particulars, this Examinee saith, he doth acknowledge that *Celsus Mancinus*,

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agreeing with the rest who pleade for the Popes *inherent* authoritie, doth write thereof in this sort:

Cels. Mancinus
de iuribus
principatum.
pag. 94.

108 The Popes Iurisdiction (saith Mancinus) may be taken either for that, which hee hath potestate aut actu, potentially or actually, and actually in two sorts, either ordinarily or casually. If the authoritie, and Iurisdiction of the Pope, be taken for that which hee hath potestate potentially, it extendeth it selfe ouer all the world: but if his actuall Iurisdiction be taken, not ordinarily, but casually, forasmuch as it onely hath vse in the Christian world, it is said to bee as great as the whole Christian world, and ordinarily as great as is S. Peters Patrimonie. Againe, speaking of this great and regall authoritie so inherent in the Pope, hee saith, it did lie hid in the first Bishops of Rome in the Primitiue Church untill the vineyard of the Lord had taken deepe roote, and that the spouse of Christ, which at the first had no papps, became to bee of mature age, and that all that while, for the space of 350. yeeres, the said power did lie in Martyrdome, and blood, untill afterwards the foundations were laid, and the walles were built up, and that then the same began to shew it selfe in blessed Syluester and his Successors. But withall he addeth, that the vse and exercise of the Popes said actuall and casuall authoritie and iurisdiction is not great in the Pope: That if we consider the Popes care of spirituall things, he is so occupied in them, being heavenly matters, as hee can scarcely intende to those things, that bee terrestriall: That in Kings and Emperours the vse of temporall power is more frequent, because

Idem ibidem
pag. 89.

Idem ibidem,
pag. 89.

because the matters that they deale in, are not heauenly, but terrene. Mary (saith hee) their swords notwithstanding, and all their temporall power are at the Popes commaundement, in that hee is the Lord of the whole Christian world, to whose iurisdiction, all other iurisdctions are subiect, and referred, as to the first fontaine, from whence they flow. And in another place likewise he saith, that the preservation both of particular and vniuersall iustice belonging to the Popes office; forasmuch as he cannot be attentive to such terrene affaires, lest applying himselfe to these small matters, hee might leaue celestiall things vndone; hee dealeth in such sort with Emperours, Kings and Princes for his owne assistance; as Iethro taught Moses, who following Iethroes counsell, did appoint Iudges, to deale in temporall causes, that hee might more freely apply himselfe to those that were spirituall; he (the said Pope) hauing notwithstanding in himselfe power and authoritie to correct the errors of such Emperours, Kings and Princes, and to iudge of their excesses, as there should bee cause. For (saith Mancinus further) though Princes are free within their proper territories, and may freely vse their power and authoritie: yet they haue their boundes and limits, which they must not passe, and there is a meane in the vse of it, which they are bound to obserue: but if they exceede their measure, and passe their line, then it is the part of Christs vicar, in whom is the top of both authorities, to take knowledge of their proceedings, and to remedie them: and that in matters of greater difficultie and weight, Appeals doe therefore lie from all Kings

Idem ibidem.
pag. 98.

Idem ibidem.
pag. 105. &
106.

Idem ibidem.
pag. 98.

Idem ibidem.
pag. 120.

to the Pope, as when mens rights are overthrowen, they are to flie to the supreme Iudge, whose office is to iudge such causes.

109 So as (this Examinee saith) hauing thus deliuered truely the effect and substance of *Mancinus* iudgement, touching this point set downe by him (the said *Mancinus*) at large, and with great varietie, according to their opinions who concurre with him, concerning the Popes *inherent* authority, and iurisdiction ouer all the world *directly*, in causes temporall: it doth appeare, what his and their conceit is of the *casuall* practise of that great authority. And he confesseth it to be this in effect: viz: that Emperours and Kings holding their authority as from the Pope, they are to him as *Moses* his Iudges and rulers were vnto him: and that therefore, when it happeneth, or falleth out *casualiter*, that the Pope holdeth it fit to depose any King from his Crowne and kingdom; to absolue his subiects from their Allegiance, to authorize them to beare armes against their King so deposed, to command them vnder paine of Excommunication so to doe, in that being deposed he is no more their King: or otherwise when hee holdeth it conuenient to correct and punish any other Kings for dealing vniustly with their subiects, vpon complaint made vnto him, as vnto the chiefe Iudge, if they persist in so doing, he may so deale and proceede with them, euen as *Moses* might haue done, vpon any complaint brought vnto him in some such like cases, against

against any of his Iudges and rulers deputed vnder him: And furthermore, that if a King so deposed by the Pope, will needs keepe his Kingdome still, if his subiects (notwithstanding the Popes commandement to the contrary) will not be induced to beare armes against him, nor to withdraw their obedience from him, but will still honour, obey, and serue him; or if other Kings will so far contemne the Popes authority, when vpon Appeales made vnto him, they doe persist in oppressing their subiects, so as the Pope is driuen vpon their contempts, to take the like course with them; then in those and the like cases, saith *Mancinus* and others, the Pope being the highest Bishop, and Christs vicar, and glistering with regall dignitie, may without all doubt (if hee will) moue armes, proclaime warre, and excite men himselfe to battaile; and it is also generally by these men held, that the Emperour, and all other Christian Kings and Princes, are at the Popes commandement, and beck to draw their swords, and to vse all their forces for the putting in execution of his said Sentences, to the suppressing of the said obstinate Kings, and the transferring of their kingdomes vnto some others.

Mancinus ibidem pag. 232.

110 Here this Examinee being asked, what difference there was betwixt these mens opinions, who hold that the Pope may thus proceede with Kings and princes, by vertue of his authority in all temporall causes *directly*, but *casualiter*; that is, in such cases as are aboue expressed, when
casually

casually they happen: and the other side, who although they deny, that the Pope hath any such authoritie *directly*; yet they affirme (as it hath beene oft aboue mentioned) that he hath power to depose kings and to transerre kingdomes *in ordine ad spiritualia*, *indirectly*, *per accidens*, by a certaine consequence; *incidently*, *secundum quid*, *secundariò*, *per consecutionem*, *accessorily*, and *casualiter*: that is, when such occasions are offered: hee this Examine answereth, that he must needes confesse, there is no difference at all betwixt them, in respect of their iudgement, touching the lawfulnessse of the Popes authoritie, to proceede *casualiter*, as is aforesaid; with such obstinate princes, but onely this, that the one part supposeth this authoritie to be inherent in the Pope, as hee is Christs vicar, which the other denyeth, but saith notwithstanding, that he hath it, though not inherent in him, yet *indirectly*, & by a consequence; because all kings and princes when they are baptized, doe promise and vndertake *inclusiue*, that they will for ever maintaine the Church, be obedient to the Pope, and at his commandement, for the suppressing of all such persons whosoever, as shall oppose themselves against the Catholicke faith. Infomuch that Cardinall Bellarmine, euen in the same Chap: where hee remembereth the Popes dealing in temporall causes *incidenter & casualiter*, incidently and casually, although he acknowledgeth, that the Pope, *as hee is Pope*, cannot ordinarily depose princes, euen for

Bell. de Rom.
Pon. lib. 5. cap.
6.

a iust

a iust cause; yet hee saith, that the Pope may change kingdomes, and take them from one and giue them to another, not as he is *princeps Ecclesiæ politicus*, but as hee is *summus princeps spiritualis*, when they hinder religion, & taking that course, which bringeth detriment to mens soules, will not otherwise be reclaimed.

III Vpon this declaration made by this Examine vpon such apparant grounds and collections, as he could not denie, it was demanded of him, what his iudgement was, as touching the contents of it. Whereunto he answereth, that he hath elswhere sufficiently opened his mind in that behalfe, where he hath often said, that in his iudgment the Pope *iure diuino*, hath no authoritie inherent in him, or not inherent *directly* or *indirectly*, whether it be termed spirituall or temporall, or a mixt authoritie, or howsoever it is, or may be called, to depose kings either for heresie or Apostasie, or for any other cause whatsoever, or to release their subiects from their obedience, or to authorize them to beare armes against them, or to excommunicate the subiects of any such kings that refuse to enter into any such disobedient, rebellious, and traitorous courses, but continue their faithfull and loyall subiects, notwithstanding, hee should tell them neuer so confidently, that such their former kings, being by him deposed, were no longer their kings, or any other allurements or perswasions whatsoever to the contrary. Whereunto this Examine now addeth,

P

that

that in his iudgement, it is a vaine conceit and repugnant to the Scripture, for any to affirme, that the Pope hath any power, authoritie, or iurisdiction, either potentially or actually, ordinary or casuall, to deale with kings or princes, or with their subiects, as is aboue mentioned, or to holde and maintaine, that kings and soueraigne princes haue their regall authoritie from the Pope, or that they are to him, as the rulers and *Iudges* amongst the *Israelites* were to *Moses*, or that hee hath any authoritie at all, as he is Christs vicar, and *S. Peters* successour, to deale with kings and princes for any cause, or at any time, further then concerneth the health of their soules, and the maintenance of the Catholicke faith, by admonitions, perswasions, and good counsell: and (if those will not serue) then by the spirituall censures of the Church, and by *S. Peters* keyes only; and not so neither, but when it is apparant, that such spirituall censures may in deede and truely turne to *edification*, and not to *destruction*, and that they may be vsed without hurt or danger of Catholickes either in their bodies, goods, or liues. All further proceedings of the Pope with kings and soueraigne princes, as the chiefe pastour of their soules, this Examine faith, hee doeth vterly dislike, and prayeth from the bottome of his heart, that hereafter they may neuer be practised.

112 But heere this Examine being put in mind of his own words aboue specified, wher he
acknow-

acknowledged the Pope to haue *casualiter* some authoritie in *temporalibus*, without the limits of *S. Peters* patrimonie, though the same were not inherent in him; and thereupon required to declare his meaning therein, he saith that he neither had nor hath any other meaning then this: that when any questions or controuersies arise amongst Kings, Princes, and such other great persons, as they cannot amongst themselves compound, but yet are contented to referre the decision or compounding of them vnto the Pope, (vnto whome they are all subiect in Spirituall matters) hee (the said Pope) may lawfully, in this Examinate iudgement, vpon this occasion, and so *casualiter* intermedle and deale in the said questions and controuersies, and order them, for the establishing of vnitie, friendship, and concord betwixt the said parties, although the particulars so questioned, or controuerted, be meere and altogether of temporall conusance. And also this Examine further saith, that the Pope may so deale (as he thinketh) when any King, Prince, or other great person will bee content, for the strengthening of his owne purposes in some especiall matter, to desire the Popes approbation of it. For example, the King of *Fraunce* hauing left his former wife, and married another, had by her a sonne and a daughter: and being, as it seemed, in doubt, that his sonne after him might in that respect, receiue some preiudice in his Title to succede him: he (the said King) entreated the Pope,

*Decretal. lib. 4.
cap. 3 qui filij
sunt legitimi.*

for the legitimation of his issue, whereunto hee yeelded: the deciding of any mans right or interest to a Kingdome, no wayes properly belonging to the Pope, but *casually*, as here it hapned, when the King was contented to referre it vnto him, and might haue done it himselfe; but that he thought when the Pope ioined with him, that which they did together would bee of greater force.

*Ibidem & in
glossa.*

113 This will appeare more plainly by *Innocentius* his owne words in an other suite of the same nature made vnto him; where a Gentleman of *Montpelier*, hauing likewise put away his wife, and married another, by whom he had children, was encouraged, by the example of the King of *France*, to labour to the Pope, for the legitimating of his children in like sort, *quatenus eius natalium obiectio, seu exceptio non noceret, quo minus sibi succederent*: that the exception against their birth might not hurt them, but that they should bee his heires. But *Innocentius* denying his suite, amongst some other reasons, why hee so did, vsed these:
 „ that the King of Fraunce had no superiour in his
 „ Kingdome in Temporall causes, but this Gentle-
 „ man was a Subject: that the King of Fraunce
 „ might without any mans hurt, referre the said
 „ matter to the Pope, which this Gentleman could
 „ not doe in his cause: that the King did neede the
 „ consent of no man, for the approouing of that
 „ which the Pope had done on his behalfe; where-
 „ as if he the said *Innocentius* should legitimate this
 Gentle-

Gentlemans children, it would not availe him, without the assent of the King, or Lord his superiour: that the King had power in that point to submit himselfe to the Popes iurisdiction, which this Gentleman had not: and that the King might (in some mens opinions) of himselfe haue legitimated his said sonne and daughter, without any assistance from the Pope. So as this Gentlemans cause was farre vnlike the Kings. Hereof Innocentius himselfe did write to the said Gentleman in this sort: *Insuper cum Rex superiorem in temporalibus minime recognoscat, sine iuris alterius lesione, in eo se iurisdictioni nostrae subicere potuit, in quo videretur aliquibus, quod per seipsum (non tanquam pater cum filiis, sed tanquam Princeps cum subditis) potuit dispensare: tu autem nosceris alijs subiaceere, unde sine ipsorum forsitan iniuria, nisi prestarent nobis assensum, in hoc subdere te non posses:* That is, Moreover inasmuch as the king doth acknowledge no superiour in temporall causes, hee might lawfully in that matter, without any mans preiudice submit himselfe to our iurisdiction, wherein (as some hold) he might by his owne authority, (not as a father with his children, but as a prince with his subiects) haue himselfe dispensed: but you are known to be subiect vnto others, and therefore without some iniury peradventure vnto them, except they should yeeld their assent, you cannot in this case submit your selfe vnto vs: And this is that casuall authoritie, (this Examine saith) which he attributeth to the Pope, out of S. Peters patrimony, in other Princes kingdomes, for his dealing in those causes that are

Ibidem. Per venerabilem. & citatur à Bellar. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 3. cap. 3.

118 *A large Examination*

temporall, and doe not otherwise belong vnto him, to intermedle with, *as he is Christs Vicar*, but as they are compromitted and referred vnto him.

114 It was here againe required of this Examinee, that he should a little further open his mind in this point, whether in his iudgement, the subiects of any Christian king may lawfully referre any temporall causes, especially such as either concerne the commonwealth, or their king, vnto the Popes determination, without the kings consent; because it is held by many (as it hath been formerly touched in part out of *Mancinus*) that they may; when otherwise they can receiue no such ordinary course of Iustice, as they thinke they ought, or when they account it most expedient for the Commonwealth. To which purpose sundry examples are alledged, and amongst them this particularly, of the proceeding once in *France*, with their king. *Hildericus* king of *France* reigning (as it was thought) vnprofitably, and *Pepinus* in his gouernement vnder him, greatly contenting the Realme, the chiefe of the Nobilitie, in their desire to remoue him, and aduance *Pepinus* vnto his place, being not ignorant, that if they could procure the Pope (who was then in these Westerne parts of great reputation) to concur therein with them, it would greatly further their designement, and the better content, both the people, and the Clergie; did send an Embassage to Pope *Zachary*, then Bishop of *Rome*, desiring to know of him, *an ille deberet regnare, qui otio torpebat,*

Io. Maior. dist.
24. quest. 3.
apud Gerf-
nem.

torpebat, an ille, qui aëstum diei portabat; whether he ought to reigne, who was altogether idle, for he that did indure the heate of the day. To whom the Pope answered: *quod posterior regnare deberet*, that the later ought to reigne. Whereupon the Nobilitie deposed *Hilderick*, and created *Pepinus* their king.

115 Now forasmuch as this example is commonly vsed for an argument, that the Pope may thus deale *casually, in temporalibus*: and that thereupon it is ordinarily concluded, that the Pope by such a casualty may depose kings, and set vp others in their roomes: if hee this Examine should meane, that such a reference, or committing of a cause to the Pope, by one side, without the assent of the other, (as it is not likely, that *Hildericus* was euer willing to commit to the Pope his title to the kingdom, whether he should remaine king, or one of his subiects should get it from him) were a lawfull occasion offered, for the Pope to deale *casually in temporalibus*, as an Arbitrator: that which hee hath before said of his meaning, how the Pope might deale in such like causes *casualiter*, doeth crosse that which formerly he hath deliuered, or rather indeed is flatly repugnant vnto it. And therefore he this Examine was vrged to explicate this difficulty.

116 Whereunto for answer, he saith, That in his opinion, this was a needlesse doubt, in that his words before were plaine, when he deliuered the answer of *Innocentius* to the Gentleman of

Montpe.

Montpelier; hee this Examinee hauing neuer heard of such a kind of compromising a cause to any, by one part, without the consent of the other: and that therefore he holdeth it, as vnlawfull for the Pope, in such a kind of reference, as aboue is specified, without the Kings consent, to take any temporall cause into his hands, to be ordered by him, as it was for him to haue made legitimate the children of the said gentleman (as is before mentioned) which *Innocentius* acknowledged he might not doe. And as touching the example alledged, for the deposing of *Hildericus*, this Examinee further saith, that he concurrerth in iudgement with *Iohannes de Parisijs*, *Io. Maior*, *Jacobus Almain*, & *Adam Blackwood*, with diuers others, who writing of that fact, say, *that it was not lawfull: that the Pope did yeeld to an iniury, and was not ignorant, the example to be pernicious, so to let slacke the raines to the people for the changing of Scepters, and to preferre a stranger, with the iniury of their own lawfull king: that this fact (being singular) ought to obtaine no force of a law: that wee are to liue by lawes, and not by examples: that we ought not so much to regard what is done, as what ought to be done.*

Blackwood
apud pag. 201.
& 202.

Ioh. Maior in
lib. 4. sent. dist.
24. apud Ger-
sonem.

117 That the Nobility of France sent to the Pope, because the Vniuersitie of Paris did not then flourish; insinuating that if it had, they had gone no further, but relied vpon their iudgement: that where it is said, that *Zacharie* did depose *Hildericke*, it is thus to be vnderstood, viz: that he was *aliqua causa motiua*, a certaine mouing cause, why the

the Noblemen of France deposed him; that from such particulars, quæ ex deuotione ad Ecclesiam, & non debito juris fiunt, which are done of deuotion to the Church, and not by any right of law, nothing is to be drawn in consequence, as neither from many other examples, where Emperours did chuse the Bishops of Rome; and likewise, that some Bishops of Rome had beene deposed by Emperors, and (as the Ecclesiasticall historie reciteth,) many Bishops did referre their complaints to Constantine, ex quibus nullum potest sumi argumentum, from which examples no argument can be drawn.

118 That the Canon Alius, dist. 15. q. 6. which saith that Pope Zacharie deposed the king of France, and placed Pepin the father of Charles in his roome, is thus to bee understood: Zacharias deposuit Regem, id est, deponentibus consensit: Zacharie deposed the king, that is, gaue his consent to them that deposed him: that then there was no Vniuersity at Paris, the same beeing afterwarde erected in the dayes of Charles the great: and that thereupon there being few learned men in France, they had recourse to the Pope, & sic deposuit, id est, consensit vti possent deponere, & sic non deposuit authoritatiuè, that so he deposed Hildericke, that is, he gaue his consent, that the Nobilitie of France might depose him, and that the Pope did not depose him by any authority.

Iacobus Almain de potest. Eccles. & laicâ. quest. 2. cap. 8. Magna glossa Canon. Alius dist. 15. q. 6.

119 That the Pope did neuer depose the king of France, except that which Zacharie did, in the deposition of Hildericus, may bee expounded deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit, sicut ex-

Ioh. de Parisiis de potest. regia & Papali. cap. 13.

ponit glossa: Zacharie deposed the King, that is, hee gaue his consent to those that did depose him, as the glosse doth expound it: that from such singular facts of deuotion to the Church or to the person, or of fauour, or for some other cause, and not in right of law, arguments may not bee made: that whereas it is read in histories that Boniface obtained of Phocas the Emperour, that the Church of Rome should be the head of all Churches, because the Church of Constantinople did write herselfe so; it might bee collected by such a like argument, that it appertained to the Emperour to transerre the primacie of one Church to another; as likewise, whereas Isidore saith, that Constantine the Emperour did decree that the See of Rome should hold the principallitie ouer the foure chiefe Sees, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Hierusalem: God forbid, that thereupon we should say, that the Church of Rome hath her Primacy ouer Churches, and the disposition of them, from Emperours. So as, this Examine saith, that which was done, as touching the deposition of Hildericke the king of France, doth no way alter his opinion before shewed touching the Popes authoritie *in temporalibus casualiter*; when they are lawfully referred vnto him, as in the Sect. 113. he hath specified.

120 Here this Examine was put in minde of certaine wordes of his, in the said 113. Section; where saying that the Pope, as hee is Christs vicar, could not otherwise deale *in temporalibus casualiter*, then as here he hath said: he seemeth to insinuate, that in some other respect hee might deale in

in temporall causes with Kings, for the deposing of them, and proceeding with their subiects, as hath bene before diuers times mentioned. And the rather it so seemeth, in that he hauing before cited out of *Mancinus*, how the Pope hath authoritie to proclaime warre, and so become a man at armes, did let that point passe him without answer vnto it.

121 For satisfaction whereof, this Examine saith, that in his iudgement, it is as lawfull for the Pope to make warre within his own Territories, which he holdeth as a Temporall Prince, when he is driuen thereunto, through the disobedience of his subiects, or in their defence against other Princes, as it is for any King or ciuill State so to doe, vpon such or the like occasions: and that *Iacobus Gretzerus* saith well (if this Examine doth rightly vnderstand him) to this purpose, and to the iustification of all in effect, which this Examine hath set downe, throughout the whole course of this his Examination, touching his deniall of the Popes authoritie (either directly, as he is Pope, or indirectly *in ordine ad spiritualia*, as he is *Summus Princeps spiritualis*, the Supreme spiritual Prince) to depose Kings, and release their subiects from the oathes of their allegiance, &c.

Where he writeth in this sort: *Cogit Pontifex Romanus pœnis externis spiritualibus, vt Excommunicatione: item pœnis externis temporalibus, & corporalibus, quâ & ipse est Princeps politicus, & quâ Principum politicorum opem implorare potest, vt heretico-*

*Gretzerus de-
fens. controuers.
Bellar. colum.
1404.*

rum petulantiam & licentiam penis temporalibus compeſcant: that is, That the Biſhop of Rome hath authoritie to compell men by outward ſpiritual punishments, as by Excommunication, and alſo by outward temporal and corporal punishments, as he is himſelfe a *ciuill Prince*, and as he may implore the aſſiſtance of other ciuill Princes, that they may reſſeſſe by temporall punishments the wantonneſſe and liberty of heretikes.

122 And this Examinee alſo further ſaith, that for ought he can iudge, whereas ſome exceptions were taken to the Popes ſending of certaine ſmall forces into *Ireland*, about the yeere 1580. to aſſiſt the *Earle of Deſmond*: Cardinall *Allen* in anſwere of them doth politically iuſtifie that his fact, where hee writeth in this manner: *The chiefe Biſhops of Chriffs Church, our ſupreme Paſtors in earth, by Gods prouidence, and by the graunts of our firſt moſt Chriſtian Emperours and Kings, and by the humble and zealous deuotion of the faithfull Princes and people afterwards, haue their temporall ſtates, dominions, and patrimones, whereby they moſt iuſtly holde and poſſeſſe the ſame, and are thereby lawfull Princes temporall, and may moſt rightfully by their So- ueraigntie make warres, in their owne and other mens iuſt quarrell, as occaſion ſhall urge them thereunto.*

*Card. Allens
anſwere to the
English Juſtice.
pag. 144.*

123 By reaſon of diuers particulars deliuered by this Examinee in this his anſwere to the laſt doubt propounded vnto him, it was firſt demanded of him, whether in his iudgement the Pope hath authority to command any king, being held for

for a Catholicke, to take armes against any his neighbour kings, deemed by him for heretickes, for the suppressing of them by temporall coercions, when the Pope shall iudge it fit: because it might seeme very strange for any man to conceiue, that Christ euer gaue to *S. Peter* any iurisdiction, authoritie, or power, in fauour of religion, to set kings together by the eares. It might haue some probabilitie, that if a king, who disalloweth of the Popes supremacie, and of many other corrupt points of popish doctrine, should send his forces into any other temporall princes dominions, to make warres, of purpose to abolish the Popes authoritie, and plant there the reformed religion by him professed; then in this case, the Pope might sollicite some other kings adioyning, to oppose themselues & make warres against him. But to imagine, that when a King proceedeth no further, then to order matters in his owne kingdome, by the aduise of the States thereof both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall, as it shalbe iudged by him and them most expedient: any Bishop or Spirituall person whosoeuer may take vpon him to proclaime or excite warre, and thrust other kings to assaile him by force in his owne kingdome and countrey: euery such conceit wanteth authoritie in the new Testament, and hath no example for many yeeres in the purest and best times of the Church, and besides it is repugnant to that which this Examine hath before deliuered. For kingdomes being neither

Q 3

founded

founded vpon faith nor grace, how can they be shaken, vnder pretence that either of them is impugned? Christianitie may well be thought to binde a king, who reckoneth himselfe subiect to the Bishop of *Rome* in spirituall causes, in them to submit himselfe vnto him: but to command him to make warre, and thereby hazard peradventure his owne kingdome, or spend the blood either of his owne Subiects, or of the subiects of any other Christian King, when the Pope thinketh good; is a very bloodie and an vnchristian opinion.

124 Vnto this question and the parts thereof, this Examinee saith, that he beleeueth, that all Christian Kings and Princes are bound to doe, what they can for the maintenance of the Catholicke faith, (whether the Pope doeth require them so to doe, or not) against any that doe endeavour to suppress it. But he holdeth that such their duetie bindeth them no further, then so to maintaine religion within their owne kingdoms, if need be, and not to make warre in that respect against any, who doe containe themselves and their proceedings aforesaid, within their owne bounds, and doe not seeke by force to suppress, in any other Countries, that are adiacent vnto them, the Religion there established, otherwise then in his owne. But withall he addeth, that he holdeth it to be the duetie of all such Catholike kings, to do what they can with any King auerse from the Pope, for the winning of him vnto his Holinesse by perswasion, and by euery other
good

good meanes: but in no wise by the sword, or by soliciting his Subiects to rebellion, or to make a part of his owne Kingdome against him, or otherwise to endanger his Person, Crowne; or State. Besides, for as much as (this Examine faith) he beleeueth, that the Pope hath no inherent authoritie in himselfe *in temporalibus*, out of *S. Peters* patrimonie, and that the regall authoritie is not deriued from the Pope, or held immediatly of him; hee doeth not find, how the Pope, as he is either a Spirituall, or a ciuill Prince, hath authoritie to command the sword of any Kings otherwise then by entreatie, and in the cases by him this Examine aboue specified; or that they are bound by force of their Baptisme, to obey him, if so he doe command them.

125 Secondly, were it granted to this Examine, that the Pope, as a Ciuill Prince, might lawfully haue sent his forces into *Ireland* as is aforesaid, and denounce warre when he thinketh it expedient, against any King, as *Cardinall Allen* hath written: yet it is fit, that this Examine should open himselfe in his dutie to his Maiestie, whether in his iudgement, when the Pope will needes take vpon him to play the temporall Prince, and become a warriour, hee holdeth it to bee at such times more lawfull, and agreeable to the Scriptures, either for the Pope, or for any of his instruments, to perswade the Subiects of any King, with whom hee contendeth, that because hee is a Protestant (as that generall name is
grown:

growen in vse) and denieth the Popes suprema-
cie, and embraceth the Religion reformed, and
purged of sundry grosse errors, and points of
superstition, and is thereupon either by name, or
in generall termes by vertue of some other *Bulls*,
Excommunicated, or because he seeketh to alter
the ancient Religion, which formerly they, or
their forefathers did professe, therefore it is law-
full for them, nay, that they are bound in con-
science to renounce their obedience vnto him,
and to assise the Popes forces: then it is lawfull
for the Emperour, or some other Kings (whose
predecessours had made the Pope a Ciuil prince,
by bestowing vpon him so large possessions)
when they haue resolved of a warlike course a-
gainst him, to perswade his Subiects, and autho-
rize them, to ioyne with them, and to beare
armes against him, vpon these or any other such
like suggestions, viz: that the Pope abused his
place, and behaued himselfe otherwise, then of
ancient times his predecessors had done: that it
was neuer the meaning either of their former re-
nowmed Emperours, or of any other Kings, or
of the most famous Romanes, and Italians their
Noble progenitors (who once gouerned the
chiefest part of the world) that thereby he should
take courage, and boldnesse to encounter (as hee
did) with them their successors, or to tyrannize,
as his custome was, ouer them his pretended
Subiects, and ouer their sometimes so glorious a
Citie: and that therefore, if they would ioyne
their

their forces with theirs, they would restore them vnto their ancient honours and libertie.

126 To this question this Examinee saith, that it is a point of State, how and when Princes may make warres, but he is sure, that they ought not so to doe, except the cause be iust. Again he cōfesseth, that as some hold, the Pope may depose no secular Prince, though he abuse his authoritie *in perniciem Christianitatis & fidei*, to the destruction of Christianitie or of the faith: but may onely declare him worthy to be deposed, and therefore forbid his subiects vnder paine of Excommunication, to performe any dutie vnto him, wherby in effect hee looseth his kingdome, when no man doth regard him: so they doe thinke, that in the same sort, if the Pope doe abuse his authoritie, *in detrimentum Reipublica*, to the detriment of the Common Wealth, the Emperour may depose him, vnder paine of confiscation of all his temporall goods, which hee holdeth of the Emperour, and of the king as a vassall: and that by vertue of such a Sentence giuen by the Emperour; they to whom it appertaineth, shall in the end bee compelled, to remoue him from his authoritie of the high Bishopricke. But of these and such like points, this Examinee saith he wil not take vpon him to iudge: onely hee acknowledgeth that so farre, as his reading and learning stretcheth, hee doth in his conscience verily beleue, touching the said question to him propounded, as here ensueth.

*Iacob. Almain
de potest. Ec-
clesiasticā &
Laicā. Quæst.
1. cap. 9.*

*Idem ibidem.
Quæst. 2. cap.
8.*

127 That neither the Pope hath any authoritie to depose the Emperour, nor the Emperour to depose the Pope: they may deale one with another, for reforming of abuses, but they ought not to proceede to such extremities: that as hee hath before oftentimes said, that the Pope hath no authority at all, by any waies or meanes whatsoever, giuen vnto him *Iure diuino*, to depose any Protestant king, or Soueraigne Prince, nor to absolve his subiects from their Allegiance, nor to authorize them, or command them, to beare armes against him: so neither may hee lawfully, when he commeth or sendeth, as a *Ciuill* Prince, his forces and men of warre, to assaile any such king in his owne Countrey (though he take that course in defence of Religion) seeke to perswade the subiects of such a King, to rebell against him, by ioyning their forces with the Popes; or if hee or any of his instruments so doe, suggesting, that otherwise they shall incurre the Popes curse, yet they the said subiects ought not to regard it, but remaine still as firmly bound, to obey their King, and take part with him, as if the Pope had neuer conceiued any displeasure against him.

128 That therefore hee must needs confesse, the positions following to be very vnfound, and repugnant vnto the Scriptures, and the ancient Catholicke doctrine, which is alwaies to be preferred, before mens new deuises, be they for their learning and places, neuer so eminent in the Church.

129 It is godly and honourable to fight in such order and time, as we are warranted in conscience, and law by our Supreme Pastours and Priests. *Card. Allen. a True defence. pag. 103.*

130 In warres, that may at any times happen for religion, every Catholike man is bound in conscience, to employ his person and forces, by direction of such as are vertuous & intelligent in such cases, but especially, &c. of Christs Vicar in earth, whose soueraigne power and authoritie &c. may best instruct and warrant a Christian Souldier, how farre, when, and where, eithers at home, or abroade, in ciuill or forreine warres, made against the enemies or rebels of Gods Church, he may and must breake with his temporall Soueraigne. *Card. Allen. letter to Stanley. pag. 37.*

131 Furthermore this Examine saith, that he cannot chuse, but confesse from his heart, that he doeth dislike and disallow all the Arguments, published in a booke about the yeere 1588. which did tend to perswade the late Queenes subiects to take part with the forces of the king of Spaine, because she was deposed by the Popes Sentence, and in some other respects therein mentioned: and likewise all the perswasions and resolutions, which were sent into Ireland during the late rebellion of the Earle of Tyrone, either from Salamanca, or from any place else, tending to the same purpose with the former: for example. *Card. Allens Admonition to the Nobilitie of England.*

132 That the late Queene being deposed, and her Subiects absolved from the oath of their fidelitie, by the highest Bishop, unto whom hee that reigneweth in the highest, the King of kings had giuen all power, to plucke

D. John D' Aquila his Proclamation.

132 *A large Examination*

up, destroy, plant, and edifie, ita vt ipsos Reges temporales, si ad spirituale edificium expedierit, vsq; ad depositionem à Regno puniat, so as he may punish temporall kings, if it be anasleable to spirituall edification, be it to the deposition from their kingdomes: the Irish were bound by the commandements of God, and the obedience which they did owe to the highest Bishop, to ioyne with Don Iohn D'Aquila, sent thither from the King of Spaine by the Popes intreatie.

Ibidem.

133 That forasmuch as the Bishop of Rome had now procured forces to be sent vnto them (the Irish) for the defence of their faith, they should all upon notice of the said Don Iohns proclamation, with all their power come vnto him: and that he would prosecute to death as heretiques and hatefull enemies to the Church all those, who contemning his counsell, should continue their obedience vnto the English.

*Determinab.
Salamant.
1602.*

134 That it was lawfull for the Bishop of Rome, by force of armes to punish those, who doe oppugne the Catholicke faith: that the warre undertaken by Tyrone, authoritate summi Pontificis, by the Popes authoritie, against the late Queene, that oppugned the Catholicke faith, was iust: and that all the Catholicks were bound to ioyne with him, with a great merit and hope of the greatest eternall retribution: that they deserved as much thereby, as if they bare armes against the Turke: that all those Catholickes did sinne mortally, that did follow the tents of the English against Tyrone: that they could neuer obtaine everlasting salvation, nor bee absolued from their sinnes by any Priest, except they did first repent, and forsake the English: that

that the same iudgement likewise was to bee given of them, who in that warre did fauour the English with armes, and prouision, paid their ancient tributes, or did contribute any thing vnto them: and that they, who followed Tyrone, were no rebels, nor denied any obedience, that was due, nor did vsurpe vniustly the landes of the Queene, but did rather by a most iust warre, free their Countrey from a wicked Tyrant, and defend the Catholicke faith, as it became Christians and Catholickes.

135 With the consideration of these things, this Examine saith, his very heart is wounded, finding such strength of wit, & pretences of religion so intolerably abused to the effusio of blood, and for priuate respects, such as in his conscience, God doth not allow, nor the doctrine of the Catholicke Church (agreed vpon) doth approoue. And he is the more moued herewith, (he auoweth) partly because so many worthy English writers haue of later yeeres, runne into this violent course, labouring to vpholde it with all their strength and abilitie of learning: and partly for that hee feareth (except it may please God, to moue the Popes heart, for the staying of it) what issue it will haue in the end. *Sanguis petit sanguinem* blood will haue blood. The Church did increase by the sufferings of Martyrs: but it may perhaps decrease, by seeking of blood. That hitherto was neuer accommed the seede of the Church. And touching the reasons from Spaine, carry what colour they shall, yet neuer was it

heard of before (for ought this Examine hath read) that the subiects of any King might not assist their Soueraigne in his warres without the Popes allowance. And besides, it is not likely, that the king of *Spaine* will in his princely iudgement approue, that as *D. Iohn D'aquila* saith, the Pope may depose any king from his Crowne, if it be expedient for the Church. If the *Irish* had not engaged themselues too farre in the rebellion then on foote, before this *Spanish* Generall his Proclamation, they could neuer out of doubt haue bene much moued with it. It was the conquering of the Kingdome for his Master, that he aimed at; or otherwise, their faith for him might haue lien in the dust. Kings haue their owne ends in such cases, and not the Popes. Neither was the determination of *Salamanca* of any greater weight. The authors of it sought to promote their Soueraignes affaires, as if they had bene better Statesmen, then Diuines. For it will hardly appeare either in the Scriptures, or in any ancient Father or Councel, that subiects did euer merite heauen, by bearing of armes against their Soueraignes.

136 Here this Examine was further put in minde of the charge, which is imposed vpon the Romish priests; now (as it seemeth) vnder his gouernement, how they are to proceede for the advancement of the Catholicke faith. Thus hereof diuers haue written, being men of great estimation.

137 The zeale and duetie of Gods Priests is notably commended unto vs in the cause of Athalia, &c. whom Ichoiada the high Priest, calling unto him forces both of the Priests and people, caused to be slaine: loe this is the Zeale and authoritie of Priests, for the maintenance of righteousness and religion.

Card. Allen
Admon. pag.
32. & 33.

138 Priests and Prophets haue bene principall workers and Gods ministers in the deprivation of princes: wherein the Prophet Elie was so notorious, that to his honour it is thus saide of him in holy writ: Hee cast downe kings and destroyed them: and of Elizeus in the same place, thus: He neuer feared prince, nor could of no man be ouercome. And thus it was in the old Testament.

Idem ibidem
pag. 34.

139 That in the new Testament the Priestes haue much more soueraigne authoritie, and the prince, farre streighter charge to obey, loue, and cherish the Church: that now euery kingdome that doeth not serue her, shall perish: and that now Prelats haue authoritie to forbid vs the companie of heretiques, idolaters, blasphemers, and not so much as to salute them, much more not to obey them.

Idem ibidem
pag. 34. & 35.

140 That when by the impietie of the prince, the state of religion, and of the Church is brought into danger: then it is the duetie of godly men, and Monkes, peragrarare ciuitates &c. to goe from citie to citie, and from prouince to prouince, to admonish, exhort, and sollicite all Christian men to that manly constancie and fortitude, which doeth not onely consist in wordes, but in deeds, and to preach, that all oathes and couenants made unto kings against the Catholicke faith, are of no force,

Stapleton alias
Rossius de
iusta Reipub.
Christiana au-
thoritate, &c.
pag. 638.

nor

136 A large Examination

nor ought to be obserued by a Christian man.

Will. Reynolds
de iustā abdi-
catione, Henr.
3. p. 43. 57. &
58.

141 That Priests ought to bee the first, that must leaue the oppressour of religion, and become therein an example vnto others: that so Ichoiada the Priest, arming the Leuites in the Temple against Athalia, gaue vnto the Centurions, lances, shields, and the targets of king Dauid; and placing without the Temple the people with daggers, commaunded her to bee slaine: that Elic the Prophet did kill 450. false prophets, whether the king and Queene would or not: that Azarias the priest with 80. priests valiant men did resist Oziah then king, the vsurper of the sacred ministerie; and first thrust him out of the Temple, being made a leper, and then out of his kingdome: that the Maccabees, men of the priestly stocke, valiantly fighting against tyrants for the law of God, haue long since giuen a worthy and a notable example vnto priests and Christian preachers, of exciting men to warre and armes against tyrants to religion, whether domesticall or forreigne.

Stapleton alias
Rossius lib.
citato pag.
579.

142 And in another place, the saide Stapleton: Are Bishops (saith he) bound to instruct such as are committed to their charge, that they should refraine from the conuersation of an hereticall king; that they ought not to assist him, either in warre, or peace; that all men, being ignorant, yea, idiots ought to learne to reason after this sort, Such a man is an heretique, and therefore he hath no power ouer vs that bee Catholiques: and are not noble men likewise bound, to instruct their seruants that they ought to resist such an heretique, now no king, as hee who hath no right to his kingdome, but a tyrant, or a thiefe iniustly vsurping do-
minion

2000

*Lyra super 48.
Ecclesiastici.*

Chlorine
Chlorine
Chlorine

Cardinalis in
eundem locum.

liest, but shalt die. Thus *Lyra* doth expound those words: and *Hugo Cardinalis* also to the same effect, saying: *Thou didst cast downe kings* (i) *deiciendos prædixisti*: *thou didst foretell they should bee cast downe*; *Ad perniciem* (i) *propter perniciem suam*: for their wickednes: *Et fregisti facile potentiam ipsorum*, and thou didst easily breake their power, that is, *confringendam prædixisti*, thou didst foretell their power should bee broken. And in like sort, both of them doe expound the words, touching *Eliſeus*, how being a Prophet, hee was not afraid of *Iehoshaphat*, the king of *Iuda*, to doe the message of God vnto him, nor of the messengers of the king of *Assyria*, that came to apprehend him. The prophets that were slaine, were conuicted miraculously from heauen, to bee false prophets: and thereupon through *Elias* motion, which was agreeable to the law of God, the people with the Kings consent (for otherwise it is more then probable he might haue withstood it) did kill them. Whereas therefore it is said that *Elias* slew them: *Lyra* saith, that he did it *per populum sibi in hoc assistentem*, by the people therein assisting him; adding therewith, *forte occidit aliquos manu propria*, peradventure he slew some of them with his owne hands. But that is but a gesse: and peradventure he did not. And touching *Azarias*, being about the 27. yeere of his reigne stricken with leprosie, he liued apart out of *Ierusalem*, according to the law. But yet hee continued king 25. yeeres after, the text it selfe making mention

Genebrard.
Chronol. de
Azaria.

of the 38. 39. 50. and 52. yeres, wherein he is said to reigne as king of *Iuda*, though by reason of his disease *Ioathan* his sonne governed his palace, and the whole land vnder him: the yeeres of whose reigne afterwards began not to bee reckoned, till his father was dead; and then being (as *Theodore* obserueth) *hares regni*, the heire of the kingdome, he did succeed his father, and reigned 16. yeeres. And concerning the *Maccabees*, they were in their times great princes, and fought valiantly both for God and their countrey, against certaine neighbour kings, especially of *Egypt* and *Assyria*, who did mightily trouble and afflict the whole land of *Canaan*, as all true hearted English men were to doe, if any king or prince vpon any pretence whatsoeuer, should attempt by force to subdue his Maiestie, and his dominions, thereby to bring them into seruitude and slauerie.

*Theodore, in
lib. 4. Reg.*

144 Also for the new Testament (this Examine faith) though the Priesthood cannot be too much magnified (as the humours of men are now adayes) neuerthelesse it hath no such bloudie courses annexed vnto it, as the said authours (otherwise very worthy persons in their times) doe pretend. Christ indeed, and so also his Apostles went from place to place, from citie to citie, and from countrey to countrey, preaching and planting the true Catholicke faith, which containeth the doctrine of obedience to Kings and Soueraigne Magistrates. And where there was one Christian then, if there had bene a thousand, and

so proportionably for euery one ; neither Christ, nor any of his Apostles would haue moued them to any armes , or disobedience against the ciuill Magistrates, although they were at that time verry great persecutors , and impugnors of the Gospel. The like may also be said for the ages succeeding : when such going from place to place, and preaching, as doct^r *Stapleton* speaketh of, would of a certeintie haue beene vtterly condemned. And how glad (saith hee this Examinee) should I haue beene, if these kindes of positions ; now vrged vpon me, had beene left to *Buchananus* and such of his followers , as haue runne that race? And therefore he humbly desired, that he might be no further troubled with these vncatholicke and bloudie nouelties, the same being most repugnant to the duety and office of a true Catholicke priest : and the rather, because his intermedling so much with them (though hee could not wel choose, except he should haue spoken against his conscience) doeth tend more (he feareth) to his particular discredite, then (as many men doe now stand affected) to any such religious vse or edification, as this Examinee wissheth, that all his words and workes might euer effect, and attaine vnto.

145 Here it being held conuenient to demand of him this Examinee, whether he thought, that vpon the occasion offered vnto him, and charge laid vpon him in his Maiesties name, to deliuer his conscience and iudgement, as well in these
last

last points propounded vnto him, as likewise in all the premisses of this his Examination, hee should by the discharging of his duety therein, grow to any discredite either with priests, or Lay Catholickes: and not rather, that if all he had deliuered should happen to be published, it would procure him more fauour, and greater reputation with them: he answereth, that of the last point (the increase of his credite) he hath small hope, and that he hath alreadie felt some experience of the former, in that there being but a suspicion alreadie cast abroad, that he continueth in the iustification of the lawfulnessse to take the oath of Allegiance, the very conceit of it, before they be acquainted with that which hee hath said in this his Examination, doeth much offend many, as hee hath beene informed, and as in his priuate estate he doeth very sensibly feele. Neither can he (as he saith) expect from them any thing else, but discontentment, and grudging against him, whiles the Popes *Briefes* procured by surreption and false suggestions (as hee thinketh in his conscience) doe preuaile so much with them, or vntill it shall please God to abate the heate of some spirits, and replenish all their hearts with true knowledge in these matters, and with greater humilitie and patience, then now he saith he can well boast of.

146 Lastly, forasmuch as it is most euident to his Maiestie, and the State, viz: how the Catholickes in England doe now stand affected: how

they do generally dislike the oath of Allegiance: how of late fewe of the Laitie (in respect of the multitude) will yeeld to take it: how since the Popes *Breues* came ouer, the priests, all of them almost doe impugne it, and dissuade all Catholickes from taking of it; and how they labour and trauaile hither and thither, preaching and teaching, that the Pope hath authoritie to depose his Maiestie, to absolue his subiects from their oathes of Allegiance, to authorize them thereupon to beare armes against him, and to machinate all the mischiefe they can against his State and Person: that although his Maiestie be not excommunicated by name, yet (by their doctrine) hee standeth excommunicate in generall termes by sundry *Bulles*, in that hee alloweth not of the Popes Supremacie, &c. and that therefore, if opportunitie serue, they may set on foote any wicked designement against him: And furthermore, how when they professe obedience vpon any occasion, it is but dissembled, and doth bind them no longer, but vntill they shalbe able, by reason of their numbers and strength, to encounter his Maiestie, without any great daunger to themselues: How there are many youthes daily sent ouer beyond the seas to become Priests, and being Priests, are euery yere sent backe hither, of purpose to increase the number and strength of the said Catholickes: And how all such Priests, by vertue of their office, are bound to draw as many as they can, from their Allegiance

Allegeance to the King; and vpon euery fit occasion to stirre vp his subiects to mutinie and rebellion, as is aboue mentioned: Forasmuch (it was said) as these points and many other such like are very euident and manifest: it was earnestly demaunded of this Examinee, hee being a man of yeeres, mature iudgement, and good discretion, as hee was reputed by the Pope himselfe (it seemeth) and many others, when he was made Archpriest of *England*, and an Apostolicall protonotarie, what course in his wisdom and conscience, he thinketh fit his Maiestie, and the State should holde, being resolved in religion as they are, to withstand those euils, which of necessitie in time must ensue, except either by punishments they be out of hand preuented, or that the Pope doe himselfe reclaime both Priests and Catholics from such inordinate, tumultuous, and traitorous courses, giuing them libertie, so as they retaine still their opinions of his pretended *Supremacie* in spirituall causes, to take the othe of *Allegeance*, that thereby they may secure his Maiestie and the State, of their obedience, dutie, and fidelitie both towards him, in all causes and matters temporall, and towards their native Countrey.

147 Vnto all which particulars, this Examinee answereth, that this is a matter farre aboue his reach: that he knoweth his Maiestie to be a King endowed with many singular vertues, amongst the which his mercie and clemencie are very eminent: that his Maiestie and the State
are:

are exceeding prouident to preuent all dangers: that the number of Priestes is nothing, if it bee compared to the number of Ministers, which are, and so will continue here in *England*; that there is no likelihood, that so few Priests in respect of the said Ministers should euer bee able to draw so many to the Pope, as they haue power and meanes to withhold men from him: that hee hopeth, if euer the Pope may be truely informed of the State of *England*, hee will inforce all Catholickes, to holde a dutifull temper towards their Prince: that it may be, that in short time the heate of all disordered inuentions will bee quenched: that although men of youth and vigour delighting in nouelties, are likely enough to continue a while heady; yet hee hath some hope, that the grauer sort will haue recourse to the ancient practise of the sincerest Catholickes: that generally all the Catholickes in *England*, howsoeuer they are scrupulous in conscience, and may be a litle mislead, haue sincere & true hearts, vnto his Maiestie, and their Countrey: that he doubteth not, but these deuises, and phrases of deposing of Kings, and exciting of Subiectes to Rebellion, will grow both verbally and really out of vse, and bee forgotten: that this Examinee, as long as hee continueth Archpriest, will for his part, doe the vttermost of his power what hee can, to moue all Catholickes to continue their obedience, and ducie towards his Maiestie, and not to giue eare to any thing that may
tend

tend to the contrary : that doing what he is able, there can no more bee well expected from him : that he hath in the whole course of this his long examination, deliuered his conscience and iudgement sincerely and truely, without any euasion of what nature or kind soeuer : so as hee will neuer hereafter doubt, but that his Maiestie and the State will euer repute him (as indeede he is, and so will alwayes continue) a most loyall, faithfull, and ductifull subiect. And hereunto he addeth, that the remembrance, and due consideration of all the premisses hath wrought so with him, as he hath euen of conscience and compassion ouer some men otherwise affected, then they ought to bee (in his iudgement) directed his letter vnto all the Catholickes of *England* both Ecclesiasticall and Lay, to the end, they may better bethinke themselues touching these points, and conforme all their cogitations and actions to such duety and obedience towards his Maiestie, as by the word of God they are bound : and as all the ancient Christians did, and all good Catholickes still remaine obliged to doe. Whereupon he desired for Gods sake, that thus his Examination might ende, and therein hee had his desire.

Georgius Blakwellus Archipr. Anglorum, & Protonotarius Apostolicus.

T

Mr. Blakwels



MASTER

BLAKWELS

Letter to the Romish Ca-
tholikes in England.



Ery Reuerend and my
dearest beloued bre-
thren, both Priests and
people Catholike: your
seruant in bands *George*
Blakwell, lately your fel-
low-labourer in Christs
Vineyard, and your faithfull pastour and
Archpriest, doe remember you alwayes in
my prayers, that Almighty God, through our
Lord Iesus Christ may graunt vnto you
peace, patience, humilitie, and true obedi-
ence, not onely to those, who haue the espe-
ciall charge of your soules: but likewise to

Ciui

Ciuill Magistrates (according to his holy ordinance) King *James*, our lawfull Soueraigne, and such as be in authoritie vnder him, vnto whom the protection of your bodies, goods, and liues is committed, that you may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honestie.

You are not ignorant of the oppositions, and parts-taking, concerning the *Oath of Allegiance* to his Maiestie, whether with a safe conscience it may be taken or not; nor how I haue bene blamed by diuers, and especially by *Cardinal Bellarmine*, a worthy and eminent man in the Church, for my iudgement, and former proceedings in that behalfe: neither also, what the Popes holinesse hath signified vnto you in his two *Briefes*, touching that matter. Which may peraduenture make you to wonder, and grow iealous of my sinceritie in the Catholicke faith, when you shall finde me, notwithstanding all that hitherto I haue either heard or seene, still to continue in my former opinion, and to acquaint you with it, accounting it my duetie both before God and the world so to doe.

I know what is conuenient, and profitable

for the Church, and what authoritie the Bishops of Rome haue put in practise, with good successe and approbation, against sundry Emperours, Kings, and Princes, for many yeeres: and wish that the same had euer bin so mildly, and temperately vsed, as that it might neuer haue bene impugned, nor called in question by any. But now that this point is so thoroughly searched into, not only by our aduersaries, but by our selues likewise, & I being pressed, as I haue bin, to deliuer my iudgment sincerely and truely, as in the sight of God, & accordingly to take the said oath: & since newly againe more earnestly vrged then before: how could I chuse but acknowledge what I thought, so farre as my learning reacheth, except I should haue sinned against mine owne conscience, and incurred thereby the wrath of God, who needeth by no vntrueths to haue his Church and the honour of it vpheld, and mainteined by any.

It is one thing, what may be yeilded vnto, and put in practise *de facto*, and by positive lawes; and another, what may truely be challenged *iure diuino*: which second branch is that, which is now amongst our owne brethren

thren so controuerted, and diuersly defended, as I feare greater preiudice will grow thereby to Catholicke religion, then is iudiciously, as yet foreseene, or provided for, to be preuented. For it can neuer bee iustified (say what men list) that the doctrine of the Church doeth by any true exposition, or deduction any way diminish or empeach the Soueraigntie, and honour of Emperors, kings and princes, but doeth indeed confirme and establishe them: the contrary conceit whereof was falsly imputed to the Christians in the glorious ages of the Church, which did succeed the Apostles, and ought still to be as much impugned and detested now, as it was then.

That which *Cardinall Bellarmine* hath written to this purpose, is sound and Catholicke, and will neuer by any quirke be auoided.

Christ (saith he) *did not, nor doeth take king-* *Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 3.*
domes from them, to whom they did belong. For

Christ came not to destroy those things which were well settled, but to establishe them. And therefore when a King becommeth a Christian, hee doeth not lose his earthly kingdome, which by right hee held, but purchaseth a new interest to an euerla-

Idem ibidem.
cap. 2.

sting kingdome. Otherwise the benefites receiued by Christ should be hurtfull to Kings, and grace should destroy nature. And againe, Princes infidels are the true and supreme Princes of their kingdomes: for dominion is not founded either in grace, or in faith: so as the Pope hath no authoritie to meddle with them. As long then as kings be Ethnickes, they are sure of their interest in their kingdomes, and of the obedience of their subiects; the very law of Nature doeth ratifie both: and can you conceiue, that as soone as they are become Christians, their case is altered, in the assurance of their temporall estates? Must it be pretended, that the benefite receiued by Christ, doeth no way preiudice the interest that Kings haue in their kingdomes: but when they haue submitted themselues to the doctrine of the Gospel, in hope of the kingdome of heauen, and to haue their states bettered, and their subiects settled, as touching their obedience, according to the precepts of Christ and his Apostles, agreeably vnto the morall Law of God: must then vpon any occasion, grace destroy nature, or dominion be shaken, which is not founded in faith? Thinke you, that it was euer the intent

tent either of *Constantine* the great, or of any other Kings or Princes, to receiue the Gospel, or to ioyne their Regall authoritie with the Ecclesiasticall, thereby to strengthen Bishops in the execution of their offices, with any purpose, that the power Ecclesiasticall should swallow vp, depresse, or ouertop their temporall Soueraigntie?

Assuredly (my deare brethren) such cogitations as these are scandalous to Christianitie, and ought to make no impression in your soules, otherwise then to eschew them. Baptisme doth worke no such alteration in kings or any other: it tendeth to the destruction of the kingdome of *Sathan*, but doeth no way empaire or subiect vnto any their temporall estates, otherwise then as they shall be mooued in charitie, and honour, where they haue receiued spirituall blessings, there to bestow their benefites and fauours temporall. The coniunction of the Church with temporall kingdomes to make one Christian bodie, doeth make no other transmutations, nor confound their gouernments and functions; they doe still remaine distinct as they did before; so as neither can any Emperour, King,
or

or ciuill Magistrate, take vpon him the administration of the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, nor the execution of any other parts of priestly duties; nor any Priest, Bishop, or the Pope himselfe challenge, in right of the Church, and as they are Bishops, any interest or power in the temporall sword, to manage the same, as they thinke fit, either themselues, or by others at their direction: it being a power giuen onely by God vnto Kings and Princes, to take vengeance on them that doe euill, and to be yeelded vnto, not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.

Jerem. cap. I.

Neither may the words of God to the Prophet *Jeremie*, where hee saith, *I haue set thee ouer nations, and ouer kingdomes, to plucke up, and to throw out, and to destroy, and throw down, to build, and to plant*, be truely inforced to giue authoritie to his Holinesse, for the transferring of kingdomes from one to another, or to depose kings, for any cause whatsoever, or to absolue their subiects from their allegiance, or to authorize them to beare armes against their Soueraignes, or to roote out, and destroy any kingdome, king, or prince, vnder pretence of building, or planting some other.

This

This was faire differing from the meaning of the holy Ghost: which in my iudgement is more truely & sincerely expounded by that worthy Cardinall, *Hugo Barchionensis*, about 368. yeeres since, (whether you will take the meaning of it literally or mystically) where he writeth in this sort: I haue placed thee ouer na-
 tions and kingdomes, vt euellas, (i) *Iudeos esse euellendos de terra sua*, enuncies: that thou mayest declare, that the Iewes are to be caried by force out of their countrey, & destruas (i) *ciuitatem Ierusalem destruendam*, & terram eorum, prophetes: that thou mayest foretell, the destruction of Ierusalem, and of their countrey: & disperdas (i) *eos disperdendos à principibus Chaldaeorum*, prædices: that thou mayest preach vnto them their disperſion by the princes of the Chaldeans; & dissipes (i) *dissipandum esse prædices regnum Iudeorum per captiuitatem*, that thou mayest foretell the destruction of the kingdom of the Iewes, through their captiuitie. And lest the Iewes might haue despaired, therefore he doth not onely foretel their captiuitie, but likewise their deliuerance thence; adding & ædifices, (i) *ciuitatem reædificandam* nuncies: that thou mayest assure them, their citie shall a-

Hugo. Card. in Iere. cap. 1.

gaine be reedified; & plantes (i) Iudæas ad-
huc plantandos esse in Iudæa, prædices: that
thou mayest foretell the Iewes, that they shall bee
again planted in their owne land. Hitherto the
Cardinal, for the literall sense of Gods words
vnto Ieremie: and then thus of them mysti-
cally: That thou mayest pull up vnprofitable
berbes, that is, euill cogitations, by contrition, and
destroy barefull delights, with pure confession,
and dissolue sinnes ill growen together, by compe-
tent satisfaction: and breake asunder the bands
of euill custome, by good conuersation: and build
vpon a sure rocke, by cumulation of merites; and
mayest plant the tree of life in thy selfe, and in o-
thers virtutum radicatione, by the ingrafting of
vertues.

Out of question the Prophet Ieremie, who
best vnderstood the meaning of God, when
he spake vnto him, did not otherwise ouer-
throw kings or kingdomes, or scatter, or de-
stroy, or plant, or build vp any kings, people,
or nations in his time, then as this worthy
Cardinall hath literally expounded the said
words: neither may they be further extended
either literally or mystically, as of later times
they haue been extended, for such their pro-
ceedings

to the *Romish* *Catholikes*. 155

ceedings with kings and princes, as in the Oath of Allegiance, are sought to bee prevented.

Not long since *Cardinall Bellarmine* did write a letter vnto me, in dislike of my yeelding to take the said Oath, and perswading of others therein to followe mine example: whereunto after my answere was made, such plots were layed by them, who haue their watches ouer me, as the *Cardinals* letter it selfe, and the copie of my answere vnto it were knowen and had from me; and I was thereupon brought into a long and very strict Examination: wherein I being drawen from point to point, and pressed vpon my duetie both to God, and to his Maiesty, to discharge my conscience, according to my knowledge: I haue dealt as becommeth a true Priest, a duetifull subiect to his Maiestie, a faithfull servant of God, and an obedient childe to the Popes Holines and of the Catholike Church; and doe very humbly pray you (my louing brethren of all sorts) and withall straightly charge you by the mercies of God, and in the bowels of *Iesus Christ*, as being your Arch-priest, and thereby hauing yet authority (for ought

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ought I knowe) over you, thus to write vnto you, that if euen my said *Examination* doe come to your sight (as I am verily perswaded it will) you doe not dislike or impugne it, but wholly conforme your selues, and your conuersations, by your due obedience to his Maiestie, agreeably vnto it.

The younger sort of Catholickes (I know) such as are subiect to passion and strength of sundry humours, and in whom there is more feruencie, courage, and forwardnesse, then true discretion, iudgement, and experience, will when they see it, mutter, and peraduenture exclaime against me. But I am better perswaded of you, who are more iudicious, and of the grave and wiser sort; that no suggestions against me, or wrested constructions of any thing by me deliuered either herein, or in my said *Examination*, may breede in you any offence: being men better grounded and settled in the truth, touching your obedience to his Maiestie, then that hereafter you will ever giue eare to any of these, or such like other intiseable perswasions of mens alluring reasons; as that you are no longer to obey his Maiestie, as dutifull Subiects are commanded by

to the *Romish Catholics*. 187

by the Apostles, but vntill you shall bee able without danger either of losse of goods, or of your liues, by reason of your numbers, or of some direction from the Pope, to beare armes against him, or to machinate, or put in practise any attempt, whatsoeuer, either to the hurt or dishonour of his Maesties person, or the empeachment of his kingdom and Royall authoritie. These conceales likewise I doe assure you from my soule, are in themselves very detestable, repugnant to the Scriptures, and ought by all true, and sound Catholics to be for euer abandoned.

Be not dismayed therefore I beseech you, with any letters or *Briefes*, which doe after a sort insinuate, that the taking of the Oath of Allegiance is either repugnant to any point of Faith, as yet concluded vpon by the Church, or vnto the Popes Supremacie, being bounded as is ought, within the limits and reach of the keyes of the kingdom of heauen. Those keyes doe no way extend themselves iure diuino, vnto kingdomes terrene, to open or shut, or to tolle or turmoile any of them: they haue no wardes in them, either so to turne or ouerturne them, nor to open vnto

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you any lawfull entrances into such disobedient and vndutifull courses.

That the Pope is the head of the Catholicke Church, therein I am resolute; as also that Emperours, Kings, and all other Princes, that professe Chrastianitie, are subiect in some cases vnto his spirituall censures properly so termed, as interdiction, and Excommunication: but to eradicate them, or to depose them, by any authoritie he can challenge *iure diuino in temporalibus*, either *directly* or *indirectly*, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, that is vtterly against my iudgement: and yet (I hope) I continue still, as good a Catholicke, as any that holdeth the contrarie, notwithstanding that Cardinall *Bellarmino* seemeth to affirme in his Letter to me, that no man can concurre with me in opinion herein, and so yeeld to take the Oath of Allegiance (which only excludeth the Popes authoritie in *temporalibus*, as well that which is ascribed vnto him *directly*, as *indirectly*) but that hee must needs *perfidiously denie the primacie of the See Apostolicke*.

At which his words, were they not grounded (I thinke) vpon some misinformation, I should

I should greatly meruaile, considering that thereby hee doeth insinuate, the Popes supremacy (which ought to bee maintained without any hesitation) to depend a great part of it vpon a wonderfull vncertaintie: For no man knoweth better then himselfe, that it hath not bene hitherto determined by the Church, or iudicially by his Holinesse, *tanquam ex Cathedra*, whether the Pope hath any authoritie at all in *temporalibus*, further then in those things, that doe appertaine to S. Peters patrimonie, and other temporalities giuen to the See of Rome. And besides, if it shall fall out hereafter, that the Pope shall be found to haue any such authoritie, it must haue bene giuen him by Christ either *indirectly*, as hee the said *Cardinall* with many others his partakers doe resolutely affirme, or *directly*, as the opposite part against him doe take vpon them, with as great confidence, to mainteine, (each of them peremptorily denying the others asser- tion:) and because likewise vntill the point be ouerruled against one of the said parts (which will not be done in haste for many respects) it cannot possibly be determined, whether the
Pope

Pope hath any such authoritie, as either of them holde, or not: it had beene fit in my iudgement for *Cardinall Bellarmine*, not to haue entangled the Popes supremacie, which is cleare and manifest, with these vncertaineties and perplexities, nor to haue blamed me either for auoiding them my selfe, or admonishing of others to take heed, lest they might be entrapped or snared with them.

But his *Amplitude* writ vnto me, and censured mee as it pleased him: which I could the more easily haue borne, as my duetie required, had he not therby published to as many as shall see his Letter (the Copie whereof is, as I am informed, spread farre and neere) that by taking of the said oath of Allegiance *one of the chiefe heads of our faith, and foundations of Catholicke religion* in discripen adducitur, is brought into question and endangered: there beeing indeede no such head or foundation hitherto agreed vpon or concluded. So as there is no cause (for ought I know, or can iudge) why I should not still perseuere in the approbation of the lawfulnessse of the said othe, and continue my former admonitions vnto

vnto you, for the submitting of your selues vnto it, when it shalbe exacted of you, lest otherwise you wilfully cast your selues into those miseries, which are likely to fall vpon you, not as so many arguments of happines, and that blessednesse which is promised to those that suffer for the truths sake, but of those iudgements, which are inflicted vpon men, by Kings and superiour gouernours, for their euill behauiour and disobedience.

Deceiue not therefore your selues (brethren) such sufferings are not the way to Martyrdome, nor approued of God: neuer might treacherie or rebellion, or the bearing of armes by subiects against their Soueraignes, or their secret designements against them, or the execution of the same to the endangering or hurt of their royall persons, be graced, or honored with that most glorious title, by whomsoever they were either authorized, vndertaken or practised. Take heede (I do most humbly beseech you) of this kind of leauen: be your lumpe of dough otherwise neuer so pure, sweet, and sincere, this mixture will make it sowre, and corrupt it. Stand fast in the Catholicke faith, and in the true profession

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fession thereof, as hitherto you haue done.

Bee not led away with various and strange doctrines of depoling of Kings, of absolving their subiects from their Allegiance, of authorizing them to rebell, to beare armes against them, to plot and lay snares secretly how to entrap them, or to offer hurt or violence to their persons. These things (I thanke God) my heart doeth abhorre, and my spirit within me doeth loath and detest them: The voice that bade *Peter, Kill and eate*, neuer meant that hee should deale so with Princes, cast them out of their seates, and bestow their kingdomes vpon others, or procure them to be killed, that Christians and Catholicke religion might flourish and bee comforted. Meats and drinks may establish our strength; but such proceedings with kings ought to be no foode for our soules. *James and Iohn*, because they would haue had the *Samaritanes* to haue beene destroyed with fire from heauen, for that they would not receiue their master Christ, were sharply rebuked and told by him, that they knew not of what spirit they were. *S. Peter* drewe his sword, and smote off *Malchus* eare, in as iust a cause to
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the eyes of humane wisdom, as was possible; but Christ disliked that his fact, and gave it for a generall rule or caueat: (in my iudgement) to all Catholicke priests and people, saying: that all that strike with the sword, shall perish with the sword. These and such like things (my deare brethren) are written out of question to our correption and Catholicke information.

Beware therefore of them in whose mouthes and actions *sanguis nihil est*, bloud is nothing: *Eccles. 8. 19*
tread not in the steps of ruine, stumble not against rockes, commit not your selues to such laborious wayes. If your owne children (who are fathers) or your owne fathers (who are children) should perswade you to any of these courses, doe not follow their counsell, for it is not of God: let *Buchananus* and his fellowes, and whosoever else doe follow them, runne alone in these rebellious and wicked races. But inquire you, according to the Prophets direction, and your owne Catholicke profession, of the olde pathes, *quia sit uia bona*, which is the good way, and walke in it. Certainly, be you well assured, these wayes whereof I will put you in minde, were the olde
X 2 wayes,

*Tertul. Apo-
loget. cap. 6.*

wayes, I beseech you embrace them; that it may not be said of you, that is said of others in another case: *Laudatis semper antiquitatem, & noue de die uiuitis*: you alwayes commend antiquitie (and therein you doe well) but many of you are too-much subiect to nouelties: which I greatly mislike. Doeth your coine carie the image of K. *Iames*? then render to K. *Iames* the things that are K. *Iames* his, and vnto God the things that are Gods. Let euery soule be subiect to higher powers, for there is no power, but of God. Therefore hee that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist, purchase to themselues damnation. Therefore be subiect of necessitie, not onely for wrath, but also for conscience sake. Render to all men their due; tribute, to whom tribute, to whom custome, custome, to whom feare, feare, to whom honour, honour.

I desire first of all things (saith the Apostle) that obsecrations, prayers, postulations, and thankesgiuing be made for all men; for kings, that we may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all pietie and chastitie: for this is good and acceptable before our Saviour God. Bee subiect to euery humane

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humane creature for God, whether it be to king,
as excellling : or to rulers as sent by him, to the
revenge of malefactours, but to the praise of the
good: for so is the will of God, that doing well,
you may make the ignorance of vnwise men, to be
dumbe, as free and not as hauing the freedome,
for a cloake of malice, but as the seruants of God.
*Honour all men. Loue fraternitie. Feare God.
Honour the King.*

In these Catholike and Apostolicall waies
(my louing brethren) the best and most an-
cient of all our forefathers did carefully walke
and delight : professing that they were the
same to the Emperours, that they were to their
neighbours: and that they were forbidden equal-
ly to wish euill, to doe euill, to speake euill, or
to thinke euill of any man : that whatsoeuer
was not lawfull for them to doe against the
Emperour, the same they might not doe against a-
ny : that what they might doe against no man,
they might peraduenture the lesse doe against the
Emperour, qui per Deum tantus est, who is by
Gods ordinance so great a person. That a Chri-
stian was no mansemie, much lesse the Empe-
rours, whom of necessitie he must loue, reuerence,
and honour, and wish long health vnto, as know-

*Tertul. Apo-
log. cap. 36.*

*Tertul. ad Scap-
ulam cap. 2.*

Tertul: Apolog:
cap. 30.

Ibidem cap. 22.

ing him to be appointed of God: That they so worshipped the Emperour, as they lawfully might and was expedient for him, as a man the second from God, and lesse then God onely: That they did invoke the eternall God for the health of their Emperours, as knowing who gave them their Empire: and that they (the said Emperours) are onely under the power of God, a quo sunt secundi, post quem, primi, from whome (in temporall affaires) they are the second, and after whome, the first: That they did admire in their Emperours the iudgement of God, who placed them ouer nations: that they knew that to bee in them, which God would, and that therefore they desired that to be preserved which was according to his ordinance: That they prayed for their Emperours, for their Ministers and powers, for the estate of the world, and for the quiet of all things.

Now (deare Catholickes) forasmuch as that which the Emperours were to the ancient Christians, the same is King IAMES vnto vs; vnder whome our states being farre more tolerable, then theirs were vnder many of them; let vs not bee otherwise affected towards his Maiestie, then they were to their said Emperours. The will of God is one and the

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the same for euer: that which was not lawfull then, is still vnlawfull: what was the duetie of Christians at that time, doth now continue in as full strength to binde vs, as it did them. It is therefore our bounden dueties to yeeld that to our dread Soueraigne Lord King James within his kingdoms, which they did to their Emperours within the compasse of their Empire, and dayly to pray for his Maiestie, as they prayed for their Emperours, that Almighty God would grant vnto him *vitam prolixam*, a long life, (which we must not therefore seeke to shorten) *imperium securum*, a secure reigne, (which we may not therefore in any sort disturb) *domum tutam*, safety in his Court, (which wee may not therefore by any practises empeach) *exercitus fortes*, valiant soldiers, (whose allegiance therefore we may not endeavour to auert) *senatum fidelem*, a faithfull Councel, (which we may not therefore labour to corrupt) *populum probum*, dutifull subiects, (whome we may not therefore perswade to beare armes against him) *orbem quietum*, a quiet kingdome, (which we may not therefore seeke to molest, or extort from him) and all those blessings, and comforts, that his heart
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Tertul. Apol.
cap 30.

*Heb. 12. 3.**Ibidem. 11.*

can desire, which we may not therefore seeke to hinder or impaire. If these then bee the auncient paths of our forefathers, let vs pursue them: if this be the good way, cease not to walke in it. Thinke diligently vpon him, which sustained of sinners such contradiction against himselfe, that you bee not wearied fainting in your mindes. All discipline for the present certes seemeth not to bee of ioy, but of sorrow: but afterwards it wil render to you (deare Catholickes) that are exercised by it, most peaceable fruit of iustice, and the God of all comfort will in his due time fill your soules with all true consolation, either in this world, or at the least in the world to come.

And agreeably to this sound counsell and wholesome doctrine is that of S. Augustine, where answering such a like question, as peradventure some more impatient amongst you then the rest, might here make, (in that I may not with a safe conscience put you in hope of any reliefe from your distresses, by any attempts to be made against his Maiestie, or the State; but that whatsoeuer doth happen vnto you, you must continue in feare, true obedience and fidelitie vnto his highnesse, and

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to your naturall countrey; arming your selues
only with patience and prayer:) *Nunquid sic* August. enar-
rat. in Psal. 24.
erit semper? shall we alwayes be in this case?
he the said holy Father saith; *Non sic erit*; it
shall not be so for euer, *veniet tempus, quando*
vnus agnoscatur Deus, the time shall come,
when one God shall bee acknowledged. But
it may be asked, *when?* and that hee answe-
reth likewise: *Quando vnus Christus in clari-*
tate suâ apparens &c. when our onely Saviour
Christ, appearing in his brightnesse, shall congre-
gate before him all nations, and diuide them, as a
Pastor diuideth his goats from his sheepe, and
place his sheepe vpon his right hand, and his goats
vpon his left: And in the meane while
strengthen your hearts with this assured
hope, that continuing in the faith of our
Lord *Iesus Christ*, and in the holy obedience
of his Church, the King then shall say to you
that shall be at his right hand, *Come you bles-*
sed of my Father, possesse you the kingdome pre-
pared for you from the foundation of the world.

And in the meane while let vs possesse our
soules in patience, seeking through grace,
by our seruice to please God with feare and
reuerence: goe we altogether to our Saviour

Y

with-

170 *M. Blakwels letter.*

without the campe carying his reproch, and
our Lord *Iesus Christ* himselfe, and God and
our Father which hath loued vs, and hath gi-
uen eternall consolation, and good hope in
grace, exhort your hearts, and confirme you
in euery good worke and word.

*Georgius Blakwellus Archipr. Anglia, &
Protonotarius Apostolicus.*

From the Clincke, Ianuary 20. 1607.

Endorsed.

*To my Reuerend assistants, with the rest of
my deare Brethren both of the Clergie,
and Laitie.*

